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Studying Spanish in Texas: An Exploration of the Attitudes and Motivation of Anglos

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Studying Spanish in Texas: An Exploration of the Attitudes and Motivation of Anglos

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This dissertation is dedicated to Alfonso, Gabriela, and Nicolas

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Studying Spanish in Texas: An Exploration of the Attitudes and Motivation of Anglos

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Motivation has been widely studied in the field of second language learning as one of the most important predictors of linguistic proficiency. Initial studies suggested that socio-cultural factors such as attitudes toward the target group were strongly associated with a desire to learn and the effort expended in learning the target language. Though a second wave of studies emphasized more individual contributions to learner motivation, there has recently been a return to a more contextualized view of learning and the role that motivation plays within a given social context.

The present study examines the specific socio-cultural context of the Southwestern U.S. in which Anglos, the dominant socio-linguistic group, have chosen to study Spanish, a minority language. Analyses address intensity of motivation, attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speaking populations, and motivational orientations; this

study also examines issues of social distance and discusses differences in perception regarding Spain and Mexico based on self-report questionnaires from the participants involved.

Results indicate that Anglo learners of Spanish are moderately motivated to learn Spanish; though they responded quite positively on items related to desired fluency, participants do not seem necessarily willing to invest the time and effort required to achieve that fluency. Findings suggest that participants have somewhat neutral attitudes toward the Spanish language and Spanish speakers. Participants seem generally positive about the need for English speakers to understand and appreciate Hispanic culture; they are more reticent, however, on issues of language learning responsibilities. It also appears that participants have slightly more negative perceptions of Mexico than of Spain. In addition, results show that motivational intensity is moderately associated with attitudes, supporting many of the initial studies of motivation in language learning that found that more positive attitudes are associated with higher levels of motivation.

Although many participants responded that they were only taking Spanish courses to fulfill the language requirement, they also seemed to recognize that there were other compelling reasons to study Spanish. Participants indicated that the usefulness of Spanish was the most important reason for studying the language and that a desire to have a more personal connection with the target group and culture was the least important reason.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

"It is said that a child's education begins a hundred years before he or she is born. We must go back a hundred years to begin to understand a child's language use now." (González, 2001)

Since Carroll (1962) first identified motivation as one of the three factors most associated with achievement in a second language, there has been a wealth of research on motivation in second language acquisition. Many of the initial motivation studies were conducted by Lambert and Gardner (1972) with Anglophones learning French as a second language in bilingual Canada. Lambert and Gardner claimed that unlike other subjects, learning a language inevitably involved socio-cultural factors such as attitudes toward the language of study and its speakers.

Although initial motivation research called for an understanding of how attitudes toward the target language community influenced motivation, many second language acquisition researchers investigating motivation in the 1990's made attempts to separate motivation from attitudes and affective factors (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Oxford, 1994; Oxford & Shearin, 1994). These researchers opened up the field to include theories and constructs from other fields, especially educational psychology. Much of the research in the 90's has, what Kissau (2006) calls, a focus on "micro-level factors" emphasizing the second-language (L2) classroom and even more narrowly, specific language tasks, which

he claims has resulted in the "neglect of societal influence" (75). In more recent studies, however, there has been a return to the social aspects of language learning and a call for the re-consideration of the social context within which language learning takes place and its relationship with language learning motivation (Dörnyei, 2001, Kissau, 2006; McGroarty, 2001; Noels, 2001).

One language-learning context that offers an intriguing opportunity to study the relationship between motivation and social attitudes toward the language and its speakers is the study of Spanish in the Southwestern United States. Because of the unique social-historical-political context, which will be explored below, any investigation of the motivation of English-speaking students studying Spanish in this region must necessarily consider the impact of this context on the language learner in important, but perhaps subtle and subconscious ways. Yet, there have been few studies that explore this relationship in-depth in the context of the dominant group studying the language of a minority group (Muchnick & Wolfe, 1982; Nocon, 1995).

Every semester at universities around the country, large numbers of students register for lower-division Spanish courses. Despite the apparent popularity of the language, many teachers of Spanish will admit that many students they encounter seem to show little interest in actually acquiring Spanish (Hsieh, 2008; Muchnick & Wolfe, 1982). Why then, do so many students enroll in Spanish courses, if they don't really want to learn it? Several studies (Alalou, 2001; Mandell, 2002; Ramage, 1990) have found that having a language requirement is often the most important and sometimes the only reason students take a foreign language class. The necessity of fulfilling the

language requirement may account in part for the seeming contradiction between record enrollments and the apparent lack of motivation to learn Spanish. Though Spanish is often considered useful enough to merit study, very few of the thousands of students who take courses will ever become proficient enough to use it in any practical way (García, 1993; Goldin, 1987; Mantle-Bromley, 1995; Ramage, 1990). Even in the Southwest, despite its proximity to the Mexican border, despite the large local populations of Spanish speakers, and despite the obvious usefulness of knowing the unofficial second language of the U.S. in the job market, students enrolled in Spanish courses do not seem motivated to acquire any real proficiency in Spanish (Hill, 1993).

Jane Hill (1993), a linguistic anthropologist who has gathered a large corpus of language data detailing the uses of Spanish in the Southwest, argues that there must be deeper reasons to explain the fact that Anglos in this region do not learn Spanish. Hill claims that Anglos, though they remain largely monolingual, do use some Spanish, but often in ways that are mocking, with hyper-anglicized phonology, blatantly incorrect syntax, and in ways that indirectly reference negative stereotypes of Spanish speakers. Hill concludes that this pejorative use of Spanish by Anglos is a symbolic social distancing from Spanish speakers that represents the social-cultural-economic domination over the marginalized Spanish speakers that has been characteristic of Anglo-Hispanic relations for years in the region. Hill might argue that despite the seeming usefulness of learning Spanish, Anglos in the border regions are not successful in learning it *because of* proximity to Mexico and to large local populations of Spanish speakers.

Hill's work, in many ways, has served as the inspiration for further exploration of the socio-cultural, political, economic, and linguistic context that provides a backdrop for the tense relationship between Spanish speakers and English speakers, especially Anglos, in the Southwest. The tension in this relationship is especially palpable in states along the U.S.-Mexico border. Many borderland researchers (Alvarez, 1995; Hidalgo, 1986, 1995; Teschner, 1995; Bills et al, 1995) have described the complexity and the contradictory nature of what is much more than a geo-political boundary. Alvarez (1995) asserts that the paradox of the world's dominant country and its border with a third world developing country exhibits an inequality of power not seen elsewhere.

Although the relationship between Anglos and Latinos in border cities is especially complex, researchers such as Alvarez have noted that these contradictory relations are sometimes also played out at greater distances from the border. For example, many researchers claim that these tensions are even evident in the anti-immigration sentiments and the proliferation of the English-only and English official movements and amendments throughout the U.S. Although these movements and legislative acts do not exclusively target Latinos, several scholars have noted that they often have a blatantly anti-Hispanic component (Zentella, 1997; Valdés, 1997).

From a Vygotskian socio-cultural perspective, understanding the social, cultural, historical, and institutional milieu is essential for understanding human mental processes (Wertsch, 1991). From this perspective, learning is inherently situated in a cultural context where social practices and power differentials should be considered (Schallert & Martin, 2003). Given this understanding of learning, we must consider that studying

Spanish in the context of the Southwestern United States does not happen in a value-free vacuum, but is essentially tied up with attitudes toward the Spanish language and Spanish-speaking populations. Many of these social attitudes toward the Spanish language and toward Spanish speakers, especially local immigrant populations, have not been sufficiently explored in relation to language learning motivation for students studying Spanish. These attitudes must be taken into consideration in order to better conceptualize the motivation, or lack thereof, of students studying Spanish.

Many of the Spanish courses and programs themselves, where students are taking Spanish courses, often seem to teach Spanish as if it were a language that is spoken in far-away lands, emphasizing vocabulary that will not be useful locally, divorcing themselves from local manifestations of culture, and all but ignoring local Spanish speakers (Nocon, 1995; Villa, 2002). Even in the Southwestern U.S., Spanish is essentially treated as a foreign language, not as a language that was spoken for decades before English-speakers arrived, and not as the language of signs, billboards, newspapers, pamphlets, radio stations, television channels, and thousands of speakers that students have the opportunity to come into contact with on a daily basis (Nocon, 1995). Also, generally ignored in Spanish classes are the discussions in the media, many of a political nature, dealing with issues such as illegal immigration, fences along the border, English-only propositions, and concerns over whether illegal immigrants will receive free health care under the proposed reforms: hot button issues that can create anti-Hispanic sentiments.

Several researchers have described how these attitudes and their manifestations in anti-immigration rhetoric and English-only movements have affected Spanish speakers (Gonzalez, 2001; Hill, 1998; Urciuoli, 1996; Valdés, 1997). There are also studies that have addressed how the power relations between English speakers and Spanish speakers have affected linguistic choices such as language use and language maintenance among native Spanish speakers and heritage speakers (Hurtado & Rodriguez, 1989; McCollum, 1999; Urciuoli, 1996). Hurtado and Rodriguez (1989), for example, conducted a study that looked at how Spanish was constructed as a social problem in Texas schools, taking the blame for many social problems, such as high school drop out rates and unemployment. They found that students who used Spanish in school were often punished and publicly humiliated. Even Anglo students, who were punished for speaking Spanish, reported being well aware of the lower status of Spanish. Hurtado and Rodriguez argue that these policies would seem to imply that there are no benefits to speaking Spanish. These policies also seem to blatantly ignore the reality of many of these students in the border region who were intimately involved with Spanish language and culture in their daily lives, and whose families often speak Spanish and cross the border into Mexico on a regular basis.

I mention how this climate affects Latinos because it is indicative as to how powerful the socialization of children is and how sensitive they are, how sensitive we all are, to messages that underlie socio-cultural and linguistic practices. Though the studies mentioned focus on how this social-historical-political context affects minority populations, we can't deny that Anglos raised in this environment must be affected as

well. Gal (in González, 2001) suggests that linguistic choices can be interpreted to reflect the ways in which speakers respond symbolically to issues of power, prestige, socio-economic status that are relevant to their region. Inarguably, Anglos pick up on the same subtle messages that underlie policies and legislation regarding language education and language use. While it can certainly be argued that Spanish speakers are more negatively impacted by what Zentella (1997) calls "Hispanophobia," there are very few studies that look at the other side of the coin: at the linguistic choices and attitudes of the dominant group and how these choices reflect issues of ethnicity and status.

There is at least one somewhat recent study, Nocon (1995), that looked at the effects that the tense border relationship and the anti-immigrant climate have on college students' motivation for studying Spanish in San Diego. Nocon found that students often studied Spanish despite the low-status and low-prestige of the local Spanish-speaking community. Her findings suggested that students envisioned using Spanish with an idealized Spanish speaker, while all but ignoring the ones they came into contact with on a daily basis. In many regions, Nocon asserts:

> Spanish is not a foreign language but a second language that is spoken by a large and well-defined target language group. This is particularly true on the US-Mexico border where Spanish and English come into contact and questions of socioeconomic and political prestige intrude upon the classroom experience. Consequently, the study of Spanish by English-dominant students in the border area presents a confusing dynamic (p. 48).

She argues that continuing to view Spanish as a foreign language rather than a second language and refusing to admit the legitimacy of Spanish as a U.S. language may foster negative attitudes toward local communities.

Peirce (1995), in a study of adult second language learners, argued that the concept of motivation doesn't take into account that language learning takes place in complex communities with inequitable power relations in which access to opportunities for interaction are often limited. She argued that the term *investment* may be better suited to talk about second language acquisition. She uses a cultural capital framework, borrowed from Bourdieu and Passeron (1977b), to argue that when language learners choose to invest in learning a language, they do so with the understanding that they will increase their cultural capital and have access to symbolic and material resources that were not available to them previously.

Many of the studies, like Peirce's (1995), that look that address motivation in second language acquisition from a cultural capital perspective describe language learners, often immigrants or minorities who are learning the language of the dominant group (Bearse, & de Jong, 2008; McCollum, 1999). In these cases, not knowing the language is indeed an obstacle for accessing resources and those who do not speak the dominant language are often excluded from full participation in the society. Other studies look at learning English as a foreign language, linguistic capital that will give the learners access to certain resources in a global exchange (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 1990; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002). Although there have been studies that examine motivation in foreign language learning within the U. S., very few of them address motivation and attitudes in a multilingual situation in which the dominant group is studying the language of a prevalent subordinate or minority group. A learner's level of

motivation, reasons for learning the language, and the cultural capital they hope to gain would be expected to be markedly different in these contexts.

In Texas, a state that shares a border with Mexico, at a time when anti-immigration sentiments are high in the country as a whole and English-only movements have surfaced in many states, how motivated are Anglo students of Spanish? Do dominant group members conceptualize their language learning as an investment? What resources, symbolic or material, do they hope to have access to? How are we to understand the choice not to expend the necessary effort to achieve real proficiency in Spanish? How can we better understand Anglo students' complex reasons for studying Spanish? To address some of these questions, this study proposes to explore the attitudes that English-speaking students of Spanish have toward the Spanish language and Spanish-speaking populations. It will also examine the relationship between these attitudes and the level of motivation of Anglo English-speaking students who, from a position of linguistic, economic, and social dominance, have chosen to take a Spanish course.

An additional objective of this study is related to one of the criticisms of motivation theories, which argues that motivation has generally been conceptualized as somewhat static, though it is more likely to be a dynamic variable that changes over time (Oxford & Shearin, 1994). Although a longitudinal study following the same participants over time and assessing possible changes in levels of motivation and attitudes would be interesting and revealing, it is beyond the scope of this study. However, one of the purposes of this study is to give a cross-sectional view of motivation and attitudes in four

semesters of Spanish study to get a glimpse into if, and how, these factors change over time.

Definition of terms

This study looks specifically at what it means to be Anglo and to study Spanish in the context of Texas, a state that borders Mexico, where racial tensions between Anglos and Hispanics, primarily those from Mexico, have existed since the two groups first made contact. I will use the term *Anglo* to refer to the ethnic group that is generally identified as White/Caucasian/Anglo/Non-Hispanic. Anglo is the term used in the 2000 U.S. census and is also the term used in the literature outlined in the theoretical framework presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 2

Review of the Literature

Motivation in Second Language Acquisition

Before addressing exactly what is meant by motivation in this study, it is important to present a brief history of how motivation has been conceptualized in the field of second language acquisition. The concept of motivation has been a recurring interest in second language acquisition research since Carroll's (1962) claim that motivation was one of three learner characteristics, together with opportunity and quality of instruction, that best predicted language learning achievement. The other two characteristics in the equation, language aptitude and general intelligence, though important, are considered innate and somewhat fixed variables. Motivation, on the other hand, is not a trait that one is necessarily born with and it is perhaps the only one of these three factors determining success in second language learning that is likely to change over time.

Dörnyei (2005) claims that the importance of motivation in second language acquisition is obvious: "It provides the primary impetus to initiate L2 learning and later the driving force to sustain the long and often tedious learning process; indeed, all the other factors involved in SLA presuppose motivation to some extent" (65). Oxford and Shearin (1994) found that motivation directly influenced many other aspects of language learning: how much input was processed, what language learning strategies a learner

used, the amount of contact with native speakers, etc. These researchers claimed that motivation is what determines the learner's level of active personal engagement. In fact, one might even argue that aptitude, general intelligence, or any other factor that may affect ultimate attainment or any degree of proficiency in a second language, are almost useless in language learning if one doesn't have the desire to learn the language.

Many of the initial studies in the field of second language acquisition were conducted over the span of nearly a decade by Gardner and Lambert (1972), two social psychologists in Canada. They reasoned that given the social aspect of language itself, language learning, unlike some other academic subjects, was a socio-psychological phenomenon as well as an educational one. They argued that learning a language was different than other types of learning in that language learning is more than a set of new verbal habits: language learning involves adopting various aspects of behavior of the members of another linguistic-cultural group. In order to do this successfully, these researchers claim, one must identify with the target group and have a level of inquisitiveness, openness, and positive regard. Genesee, Rogers, and Holobow (1988) noted that "Gardner and Lambert's work was important because it indicated that affective factors, including measures of the learner's attitudes and motivations, had statistically independent and significant relationships with SL *(second language)* achievement" (209).

As part of their research, Gardner and Lambert also considered the reasons why a learner might be motivated to learn a language and identified two principal motivational orientations: integrative and instrumental. The integrative orientation reflects a desire to learn more about the target language community and even be accepted as a member of

that group. The instrumental orientation on the other hand reflects the utilitarian value of language learning: its economic advantages or career advancement. Initial studies suggested that integrative orientation was more effective in predicting language success and proficiency. Later studies, however, questioned that claim after finding that in some contexts an instrumental orientation or even a combination of the two had a similar predictive power. In addition, other researchers, such as Clement and Kruidinier (1983), found that there were other orientations such as travel, knowledge, and friendship that also played important roles in why a learner chooses to learn a language. Genesee, Rogers, and Holobow (1988) indicated that social context was significant in determining what orientations would be of most importance.

Gardner and Smythe (1975) first proposed the socio-educational model which was further developed and refined by Gardner (1985, 2001). Gardner's main construct was the integrative motive which consisted of three aspects: integrativeness, attitudes toward the learning environment, and motivation. Gardner explained that cultural beliefs and attitudes in the social milieu influenced two sets of attitudes. The first set of attitudes, integrativeness, is conceptualized as a complex of attitudes, identification with and positive affect for the language community, openness to and respect for other cultural groups, and low ethnocentricity. The second set of attitudes involves the learning situation and includes attitudes toward the teacher, the curriculum, classroom activities and extracurricular activities. These two sets of attitudes influence motivation, which itself is comprised of three elements, each of them insufficient on its own: effort, desire to achieve the goal, and enjoyment in learning the language.

Expanding the Framework

There have been many criticisms to Gardner's model. Au (1988) took issue with certain assumptions of the model, criticized seemingly confounded variables, and questioned Gardner's method of measuring the integrative motive, essentially a linear score of nine sub-scales. Dörnyei (2005) argued that there were many ambiguities in Gardner's definitions, the least of which was the confusion caused by all of the different derivatives of the word "integrative". Several other researchers criticized the domination of the field by Gardner's model and suggested expanding the field of motivation in second language learning to include constructs from educational psychology (Oxford & Shearin, 1994). There are numerous theories and constructs that researchers considered in their attempts to open the motivation discussion. Many of these constructs are useful in contributing to a deeper understanding of motivation, but are not necessarily relevant for purposes of this study. Several will be mentioned briefly, but will not be given much elaboration.

Oxford and Shearin (1994), for example, looked to educational psychology to expand the understanding of motivation in second language acquisition. They suggested including need theories, specifically the need for achievement which may play a role in how we are to understand motivation in education. They also suggested that Atkinson's expectancy-value theory may play a role in learners' motivations. Under this theory, learners consider the probability of success or failure and weigh it with the value of the expected outcome; if learners expect to succeed at language learning and see value in being proficient in the language, they will presumably be more motivated. Gardner and

Tremblay (1995) began drawing additional variables from educational psychology to expand the socio-educational framework. They included, for example, Bandura's (1989) concept of self-efficacy: the belief in how capable we are of achieving a certain goal. Believing in our future success at the task at hand, according to this concept, would in part determine how much effort we expend in the process of learning. Gardner and Tremblay also discussed the usefulness of Clement's (1983) concept of self-confidence, which includes an element of anxiety, another variable that has received much attention in the SLA field. In addition, they discussed the relevance of Weiner's (1986) causal attributions which suggested that future behavior was determined in part by perceived causes of past events or outcomes.

Crookes and Schmidt (1991) also lamented that motivation research was dominated by the social-psychological perspective and also criticized researchers in the field for consistently linking motivation with socio-affective factors: "with attitudes toward the community of speakers, the target language, with an interest in interacting with such speakers and with some degree of self-identification with the target language community" (471). These researchers considered how a teacher might describe a motivated student: one who is "productively engaged […] and sustains the engagement, without the need for continual encouragement" (480). In an attempt to find a theoretical definition of motivation that did not include confounding affective variables or focus primarily on social attitudes, they looked outside of second language research, to Keller (1983) in psychology, who claimed that motivation was essentially the choice an

individual makes as to what experiences to approach or avoid and how much effort the individual is willing to expend.

Conceptualizing Motivation

In order to frame the concept of motivation used in the present study, it is indeed worthwhile to attempt to define motivation, if only for a moment, far removed from other affective and attitudinal variables. Here I will resolve an important issue of terminology: what do I mean when I use the term motivation in this study? I initially considered one useful definition in educational psychology, found in the formulation of Deci and Ryan's (1985, 2000) Self-Determination Theory. Deci and Ryan defined motivation as being "moved" to do something, the impetus or inspiration to act. This definition does seem to get at the essence of what one thinks of as motivation: being moved to do something. However, it also seems to implicate the reason for moving, the inspiration and impetus for movement, as much as the moving itself: what Gardner and his associates often called orientation.

Returning to Gardner, one can argue that he does put forth a simple definition of motivation in the socio-educational model, outlined above, though it seems to get lost among the other constructs and variables. Gardner (1985) conceptualizes motivation as a formula of three equally necessary components: effort, desire to achieve the goal, and enjoyment of the process. There are similarities to Deci and Ryan's and Gardner's definitions: one might argue that perhaps "effort" and being "moved" to do something are rough equivalents. Desire and enjoyment however, seem to be lacking from Deci and

Ryan's definition. This, of course, raises the question: does a definition of motivation require an element of joy and a touch of desire?

To address this question I will look at two types of motivation proposed by Deci and Ryan: intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic motivation is defined as the desire to do something because it is inherently interesting or enjoyable. This type of motivation was thought to lead to quality in performance of the task and heightened creativity. Interestingly, their definition of intrinsic motivation here seems to fall more in lines with Gardner's conceptualization of motivation. Extrinsic motivation on the other hand, is doing a task because there is a separable outcome involved such as a reward or punishment. This is thought to be an impoverished kind of motivation, but there is a range here from passive to agentive. One important distinction that these researchers offer, rarely addressed in other motivation research, is the concept of amotivation in which the learner sees no value in the activity. This concept may prove to be relevant for this study.

For Deci and Ryan, the range of extrinsic motivations includes tasks that can be carried out with resentment and disinterest or with willingness and acceptance. They make this important distinction because many tasks in education are not inherently enjoyable. However, while learners carrying out a task with resentment and disinterest may be said to expend some level of effort and may have a reason for completing the task that does not involve interest or joy, I am not convinced that they can truly be called "productively engaged" or "motivated." Deci and Ryan's definition seems to get at the question of what is one's motivation, the reasoning that pushes one to act, whereas

Gardner's definition could be said to address motivation more as the state of being motivated—having the interest in the task as well as the desire to achieve the goal and then including how that is manifested—effort.

Gardner's definition also better allows for motivation as a quantifiable variable to address one of the questions that lies at the crux of this study: how motivated are Anglo college students in the Southwest to study Spanish? Deci and Ryan's theory seems to better address the question: what type of motivation does a learner have? Because this study is principally investigating intensity of motivation and because interest in the task and desire to achieve a goal, as well as action or effort, are considered necessary components, Gardner's conceptualization of motivation therefore, is more in line with motivation as it is viewed in this study.

Another important aspect of motivation as conceptualized in this study is what Dörnyei (2001) calls the "temporal dimension": motivation as seen over time. Given that it can take years to master a language, Dörnyei explains: "student motivation does not remain constant, but undergoes continuous changes" (45). I would also add that even when mastery is not the goal, motivation may undergo changes; students merely fulfilling a language requirement, who must take up to four semesters, must certainly experience what Ushioda (1996) refers to as "motivational flux rather than stability" (240).

A Return to the Social Context

Many of these theories and constructs, considered in the attempt to expand the motivation framework, add to our understanding of the complexities of motivation.

However, many of them are, as Rueda and Moll (1994) point out, "limited in that they conceptualize motivation as an individual 'in-the-head' phenomenon, with little or no attention paid to the socio-cultural context and the interpersonal processes within which individual activity occurs" (117). McGroarty, (2001) similarly argues that deciding what to do or what not to do is shaped and channeled by one's cultural framework of beliefs and practices that are shared with significant others. What this suggests, is that no activity, no matter how individual it seems, occurs in absolute isolation from the social context within which it takes place and the social relationships with others involved. It is important therefore, as Gardner and Lambert's original research in motivation in second language acquisition called for, to address the impact of the socio-cultural context in motivation and language learning.

Socio-cultural Theory

In the broader field of educational psychology, there has been a call for a greater understanding of the role of social context in learning as well. Schallert and Martin (2003) outline a brief history of the psychology of learning over the past century: beginning with a behaviorist view, based on stimulus and response; moving to a somewhat mechanistic cognitive view of the mind as a computer; and then shifting to a constructivist view in which an individual brings in background knowledge and past experiences. Yet, there is a general consensus that learning has been detrimentally conceptualized, as Rueda and Moll above claim for motivation, as solely an individual phenomenon (Salomon, 1995; Anderman & Anderman, 2000). Hickey (1997) noted:

"For many years, research on cognition and instruction maintained a strict focus on knowledge structures presumed to be in the mind of the individual." Wertsch (1991) argues that: "Psychological research is often grounded in the assumption that it is possible or even desirable to investigate the individual removed from his or her social or cultural context" (85). Wertsch explains that "the assumption is that cultural and social issues can be incorporated as additional variables once the basic forms of mental functioning in the individual have been isolated and understood" (85).

What these educational psychologists are calling attention to is the impossibility and even absurdity of isolating the individual from the social context. Salomon and Perkins (1998) argue: "A focus on the individual learning in social and cultural solitude is increasingly being seen as conceptually unsatisfying and ecologically deficient" (2). Hickey explains that "contemporary perspectives reflect a dramatic shift toward a broader multisource model that considers many other influences" (175). From this perspective, perhaps what is needed is precisely the opposite: we must move beyond the individual learner toward considering the cultural, social, historical milieu in which learners are raised and socialized.

This greater context clearly should include taking into account aspects such as cultural beliefs and social norms as well as "social practices and power differentials" (Schallert & Martin, 2003). Alexander, Schallert, and Hare refer to socio-cultural knowledge in this way:

> Sociocultural knowledge [*is*] a pervasive filter through which all experiences and understandings must pass. The ways in which humans view the world and interact with it reflect a largely tacit understanding

> they have of basic beliefs shared with members of their family, community, intellectual discipline, ethnic group, national culture, and other groups with which they associate (p. 325).

Essentially, what is recognized, is that learners come to a learning situation with deep though subtle understandings of how the social world and social relationships work; they come with preconceived notions, beliefs, and feelings, with histories and experiences that must be taken into account to really have an understanding of what motivates a learner .

Many of these educational psychologists draw from Vygotsky's (1978) socio-cultural approach, whose major theme was that to understand the individual you must understand the social relations surrounding the individual. As explained by Wertsch (1991), one of the principal tenets of this approach, "is that human mental functioning is inherently situated in social, interactional, cultural, institutional, and historical context" (290). Wertsch outlines two ways in which human mental functions can be understood, from a Vygotskian perspective, as socially situated: through social interaction as in dyads or groups and also situated in "broader social institutional and cultural settings" (290). Wertsch later claims, however, that one of the shortfalls of Vygotsky, is that social functioning is often only understood in the first sense, i.e. in the context of dyads and groups, and not as much in the second sense, in broader socio-cultural and institutional settings.

How learners cooperate, collaborate, and relate to each other in group learning contexts and the teacher's use of the "zone of proximal development", though interesting, is not quite the sense of socio-cultural that is most useful for the purposes of this study

either. What is meant by socio-cultural here is more in lines with Gee (1996, 2000) who posits that "meaning is always situated in specific sociocultural practices and experiences" (195). This sounds much like what has been outlined by Wertsch above, but Gee further identifies linguistic practices as being connected to a distinctive set of "political" norms, values, and beliefs about language and identity. What this means is that language is inextricably intertwined with relations of power, concepts of status and the distribution of social goods.

Second Language Learning as a Socio-cultural Process

What Crookes and Schmidt (1991) in the review of motivation above seem to overlook in their quest for a pure, unadulterated definition of motivation, is Gardner and Lambert's original premise that language learning is unlike other types of learning because it involves, perhaps even more than other kinds of learning, the learner as a social being. This is because language itself is social. Williams (1994) suggests that learning a language is different from learning other subjects because it is intimately tied to identity and involves altering one's self-image.

> Language, after all, belongs to a whole person's social being: it is part of one's identity and is used to convey this identity to other people. The learning of a foreign language involves far more than learning new skills, or a system of rules, or a grammar; it involves an alteration of self-image, the adoption of new social and cultural behaviours and ways of being, and therefore has a significant impact on the social nature of the learner. . . (p. 77)

Gardner and Lambert (1972) proposed that language learning, especially the first language, is achieved in the process of becoming a member of a linguistic community, and that the goal of language learning is group membership, not language acquisition per se. It is crucial to remember that language is something that is used with other people:

> The whole field of language is intricately involved with communicating with other people, with social relations between individuals and groups of people and with social norms of behaviour. It is clear that language learning will also be affected by the whole social situation, context and culture in which the learning takes place. (Williams, 1994; 77)

Although it may be argued that not all language learning takes place with the intention of helping the learner become a member of the target language group, at the very least it gives the learner access, otherwise impeded by language and cultural barriers, to a given linguistic community. This is an important consideration for this study because if we agree that language learning encourages, implies, and allows for the possibility of more contact with speakers of that language, then we must take into consideration Gardner and Lambert's (1972) suggestion that success in language learning will depend in part on attitudes towards the community of speakers of the language. In essence, to really learn a language or to want to learn it, one has to want to communicate with members of that linguistic community; that is, after all, the purpose of language.

Gardner and Lambert (1972) claimed, in fact, that another type of orientation, not thoroughly examined, is "the resentment members of one linguistic group (usually the minority group) can have toward another group whose language or dialect they are forced to learn through social or economic pressure" (15). Can members of the dominant group

feel resentful that they have to study the language of a minority group? Although not a minority group, many English-speaking students are required to take Spanish in high school in order to get into college. In college, they must also fulfill a language requirement and many feel that continuing with Spanish would be the logical choice. A need for bilingual Spanish-English speakers is also communicated from the employment sector. Though English-speaking students are not forced to choose Spanish and there is really no economic pressure to master it, they may perceive social pressure. Furthermore, since they are required to take up to four semesters of foreign language study, they might feel they are forced to study Spanish. We must therefore also consider the possibility of resentment of the dominant majority group toward a minority group.

Anglo-Hispanic Relations

Resentment and racial tensions between Anglos and Hispanics in the U. S. are not a new phenomenon. The history of the Southwest U.S. during the 19th century is essentially a history of conflict between the U.S. and Mexico (Acuña, 1988). Many researchers point out that Mexican-Americans are the only ethnic minority that comes from a country contiguous with the U.S. Furthermore, as many borderlands researchers explain, many Mexican-Americans never really left their homeland behind. Gonzalez (2001) stated:

> When the boundary between the United States and Mexico was negotiated, the interests of native Americans and Mexicans native to the U.S. border area were seen as inconsequential to their governments. Hence the oft-repeated lament of many long established families that they did not cross the border; the border crossed them (p. 7).

McWilliams (1975) likewise suggested: "The Spanish speaking have an identification with the Southwest which can never be broken. They are not interlopers or immigrants, but an indigenous people" (9). After a violent, brutal conquest and colonization, a system of privilege was imposed based on racism. Deeply rooted racist stereotypes emerged based on feelings of racial, cultural, and political superiority stemming from the idea of Manifest Destiny (Hidalgo, 1995). These stereotypes profoundly impacted the relationship between Mexico and the U.S. and the treatment of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the U.S.

Racist attitudes were used to justify taking land from Mexicans even though it was officially protected by treaties such as the Treaty of Guadalupe (Acuña, 1981; Urrieta, 2004; Weber, 1973). They were also used to justify the exploitation of Mexicans for cheap labor and for relegating them to the lowest socio-economic ranks of society. David Weber (1973), in his book aptly called *Foreigners in their Native Land*, made the claim that: "By 1910 many patterns of thought and behavior toward and by Mexican Americans had already become well enough established to endure to the present day" (7). In fact, one Yale sociologist, Rodolfo Alvarez (1971) vehemently argued:

> The several waves of post 1900 migrants from Mexico were incorporated into an already thoroughly structured, thoroughly defined social situation. […] The powerful 'Anglo' population could view him and define him precisely as they already defined his kin […these immigrants] were summarily treated according to thoroughly established social practices and expectations (p. 20-21).

Alvarez further claimed therefore, that Mexican immigrants did not have what he termed the "social-psychological freedom" to take a different role.

Mexicans and even United States citizens of Mexican heritage did not fare better during the 20th century. American capitalism required a cheap and readily available work force and so Mexican workers were invited and enticed to cross the border. Thus began what Macías (1996) calls the Anglos' love-hate relationship with Mexicans. During times of economic prosperity, "when in favor with the dominant majority, Mexicans are welcomed, employed as a needed labor force, and are allowed to make their lives in peace" (235). In times of economic hardship however, they have been persecuted and often scapegoated as the reason for economic failure. They have been subjected to deportation and relocation acts such as 'Operation Wetback" and sent back across the border. Deportation acts such as these often failed to recognize the difference between recent arrivals and U.S. citizens of Mexican heritage.

Suárez Orozco (1996) examined the rhetoric behind California's Proposition 187, an initiative blaming illegal immigration for economic hardships and seeking to deny benefits and services to illegal aliens, which was approved in 1994. Suárez Orozco noted that the immigration rhetoric has changed drastically, especially the image of the immigrant, once hardworking foreigners forging a new life, following the "American Dream," and pulling themselves up by their bootstraps. Though many experts confirm the contrary, immigrants are now seen as "unstoppable waves of parasitic aliens set on (ab)using our social services, refusing to 'assimilate' and adding to crime" (153)

The Role of Language

As noted by many sociolinguists, language is intimately connected to identity (González, 2001; Lippi-Green, 1997; Urciuoli, 1996; Woolard & Schiefflin, 1994). Lippi-Green (1997) explains that "sociolinguistics becomes complicated as soon as we recognize that social identities only begin with questions of geography, gender, and age. […] it has become clear that language can serve to mark a number of kinds of identity" (31). She further indicates that "the way individuals situate themselves in relationship to others, the powers they claim for themselves, and the powers they stipulate to others are all embedded in language" (31). Language is seen as a symbolic marker of many aspects of identity, from ethnolinguistic group to socioeconomic class and is therefore very relevant to these issues of language learning.

Galindo (1997), who addresses language policies and the differences between societies that unify and those that are pluralistic, indicates that "how a society deals with linguistic diversity is connected to how socio-cultural diversity in general is treated within that society" (111). This is because linguistic policies are based on the attitudes, beliefs, prejudices, and stereotypes toward language that are prevalent in society. Sociolinguists note that there has been a shift to language-based discrimination which is often more acceptable than racial or ethnic discrimination (Woolard & Schieffilin, 1994). Lippi-Green (1997) suggests that linguistic aspects are used as a basis for discrimination because "we are forbidden by law and social custom, and perhaps by a prevailing sense of what is morally and ethically right, from using race, ethnicity, homeland, or economics more directly. We have no such compunctions for language" (64). Sontag and Pool

(1987) claimed that while "other forms of intergroup inequality have been delegitimized and made illegal […] there is a 'demand' for discrimination that can in many cases, still be satisfied through the unequal treatment of languages" (62). It is what has been called the "covert institutionalization of racism."

In the U.S., language policies are often based on ideals of unity, what it means to be an American, and how the English language is linked to that identity. Sontag and Pool address some of the objections to the 1975 amendment to the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which required bilingual or multilingual ballots. They explain that one of the objections is based on the assumption that immigrants who don't learn English are disloyal. They point out that "those opposed to multilingual voting services talk about persons who 'refuse,' 'don't bother,' or 'don't care enough' to learn English. They do not talk about those who are *too* old,' 'don't have time,' or 'can't afford' to learn English" (48). Sonntag and Pool conclude that "as long as the learning of English is presumed to be an act of will, knowledge of English can be seen as a measure of one's 'Americanness.' If one refuses to learn English, one is refusing to participate in the American process" (48).

The valuing of certain linguistic features, resources, or even languages, over and often at the expense of others, has been termed "linguicism" (Galindo, 1997; 106). One only need look at linguistic restrictions, policies for the treatment of Native Americans, and English-only movements to realize which linguistic resources are valued and which ones are not. Proponents of English-only legislations claim that such policies promote unity and provide more socio-economic equality, an idea which has been challenged (Macedo, 2003; Zentella, 1997). Zentella claimed that English-only movements "do not

ensure unity […] they foster linguistic and cultural intolerance […] play on fears of difference and avoid addressing the fundamental problems of economic and social inequality in the United States" (74).

Zentella even contends that such issues are merely a "smokescreen for an anti-immigrant agenda that is fundamentally anti-Latino." She argued that "The human rights of all 32 million speakers of other languages in the U.S. may be violated by the English-only movement, but the 17 million speakers of Spanish are the principal target" (74). Others have argued as well that it is no coincidence that the targeted population is now the largest minority group and that Latinos and the Spanish language make up an important part of the demographics of the U.S. These movements are evidence of what Zentella calls "Hispanophobia: the notion that Spanish speakers threaten the American economic, social, and political fabric" (74) and that they must be brought into check.

González (2001) claimed that the "collective consciousness" of the borderlands has been profoundly impacted by these deportation acts, the anti-immigration legalese and the English-only movements and anti-bilingual education legislation of the 90's. She would no doubt have to include the most recent anti-immigration rhetoric and the media hype over the vigilantes "protecting" the border from trespassers and the even more current concerns on Capital Hill and in the media that undocumented immigrants will find a way to take advantage of the proposed changes to health care. She argued that there is a clear and consistent message of foreignness, "otherness" that is sent to Mexican and Mexican-Americans.

One might also argue that this message of foreignness is sent through the language learning context as well, i.e. who is responsible for communication. Although Spanish was spoken in Texas before English and still widely spoken today by both mono- and bilinguals, Spanish speakers generally carry the burden of communication (Lippi-Green, 1997; Urciuoli, 1996). Furthermore, the English-only movements and attacks on bilingual education have sent a message to the Hispanic community that Spanish does not belong (Hurtado & Rodriguez, 1989; Nunberg, 1989). Nocon (1995) suggests that "focusing on the 'foreign' in Spanish-language instruction delegitimizes US Spanish speakers" (63).

It would seem that English speakers generally don't accept responsibility for communication in this multilingual context because they remain largely monolingual. Hill (1993) debunks two common reasons: isolation and lack of necessity that are used to justify the "mysteriously absolute monolingualism of English speakers in the United States" (145). She argues that despite close and prolonged contact and absolute necessity, Anglos, as a whole, in the Southwest do not become proficient in Spanish. After collecting and reviewing data of usage of Spanish, she explains that Anglos do use some Spanish in very limited ways. After examining these uses, however, that show "significant distortions of phonology, morphology, syntax and meaning" (147), Hill concludes that these uses of Spanish serve to ridicule its source and are suggestive of an active social distancing. This would also seem to send a message of foreignness.

Hill's argument is that both the refusal to learn enough Spanish to communicate with the Spanish-speaking population and the limited and mocking ways in which Anglos

do use Spanish "support a broader project of social and economic domination of Spanish speakers in the region (146). Hill points out the long history of marginalization, the Anglos' sense of racial and cultural superiority, the portrayal of the Mexican as lazy, imprudent, and racially impure, and the Hispanic contributions to the region rendered invisible. In fact, Hill claims that:

> In the one institution which formally attempted to intervene in the lives of Hispanics, the school system, the only aspect of Hispanic practice that was recognized as a cultural reality was the Spanish language. Yet this language was considered to be a degenerate, a locus where bad character and slovenliness was constituted, such that its replacement by English became a driving necessity. (148)

One might also consider that the message of foreignness is sent through language judgments. Anglos have been reported to be highly critical of the use of "foreign" languages in public places and of the accent and grammar of non-native speakers of English to the point that many agonize over their pronunciation and non-standard grammar (Urciuoli, 1997). So while Hispanics are often extremely conscious about the ways in which their English does not sound right, Hill suggests that heavy, hyper-anglicized accents of Anglos using Spanish is acceptable and even considered funny. She even argues that its boldness in exaggeration and absurdity "is also subtle [and] relatively invisible in a way that ethnic insults, racist joking or the push for English as an 'official language' are not" (150).

Hill (1999), in a later article, considers that some of the ways that Anglos use Spanish can be termed "Mock Spanish." She explains that this is a kind of covert racist discourse in that it racializes the subordinate group by indirect indexicality. That is, it

sends messages, based on racist stereotypes. These are messages that are rarely acknowledged openly and that one must have access to in order to understand (i.e., the understanding that phrases like: "I'll do it mañana" or "I need a siesta" refer to cultural stereotypes of procrastination and laziness).

Much of the research that has been conducted dealing with attitudes and language looks at how the anti-immigrant, anti-Latino, anti-Spanish climate has affected the linguistic choices of Latinos (McCollum, 1999; González, 2001). Many studies note the rapid shift of Spanish-speakers from Spanish to English, denoting a de-valuing of Spanish (Fishman, 1988; Nunberg, 1989). Hurtado and Rodriguez (1989) conducted a study in the Rio Grande Valley 16 miles from the Mexican border that looked at how Spanish was constructed as a social problem in Texas schools. She describes that many social problems, such as high school drop out rates and unemployment are blamed on what is seen as "a reluctance to assimilate" on the part of Latinos. They pointed out that teachers and other administrators "did not focus on other important structural variables, such as the quality of education received by these students, as explanations for economic success. Instead, the focus is on language because it legitimizes the *status quo* and simultaneously places the blame on the victim" (415).

Hurtado and Rodriguez asked students from a variety of different schools what the policies, official and unofficial, for Spanish use were. They found that students reported a laissez-faire attitude at some schools regarding the use of Spanish, especially if used outside of the classroom. Yet, in other schools, Latino or Anglo students who used Spanish anywhere on school grounds were often punished. By not promoting or

encouraging its use, these policies implicitly denied that there are benefits, for anyone, Latino or Anglo, to speaking Spanish. These researchers also indicate that these policies "denied the reality of the Mexican border only a few miles away" (414).

González (2001), in an ethnography looking at language socialization, described the contradictory forces that Latino parents face as they raise their children. On one hand they express the desire to pass their language, heritage and values on to their children. On the other hand they subconsciously accept and even encourage the school-sanctioned forms of knowledge. They have, in many ways, internalized the dominant cultural capital from their own experiences in educational institutions and they now reproduce them with their own children. Gonzalez also argued that children are socialized in semantically charged environments and that we have not really studied the transmission of socio-cultural knowledge through language acquisition.

Similarly, Stanton-Salazar (1997) described models of early childhood socialization as "a process by which children and youth come to internalize, identify with, and conform to the norms, values, and ideals of American society" (2). Stanton-Salazar also claims that "the developmental challenges associated with growing up in a racialized social order are seldom addressed" (2). She further added in a footnote: "Also neglected, of course, are the developmental stages by which White children are socialized into their racially privileged status and identity" (39). Though many studies focus on how this social-historical-political context affects minority children, we can't deny that Anglos raised and socialized in this environment must internalize this socio-cultural

knowledge as well. Yet, there are few studies that look at how the dominant group is affected and how these influences determine what linguistic choices they make.

Spanish: Second Language or Foreign Language?

Dörnyei (1990) points out that Gardner and his colleagues developed their theory of motivation based on studies conducted in Canada, among English-speakers learning French, the second official language of the country. This is termed a second language acquisition (SLA) context as opposed to a foreign language learning (FLL) context. In an SLA context: "the target language is mastered either through direct exposure to it or through formal instruction accompanied by frequent interaction with the target-language community in the host environment" (48). A foreign language is taught as an academic subject, presumably in a context in which the language learners have little or no interaction with members of that linguistic community. Dörnyei explains: "a common feature of such situations is that learners have often not had sufficient experience of the target-language community to have attitudes for or against it" (49).

Spanish in the U.S., even in the Southwest, is generally taught as a foreign language (Hurtado & Rodriguez, 1987; Nocon, 1995), which according to Dörnyei's description would imply that learners not only have had little contact with Spanish speakers, but that this lack of contact has not allowed for clearly developed attitudes. Even in schools in Hurtado and Rodriguez' (1989) study in the Rio Grande Valley, 16 miles from the Mexican border, in which some of the students spoke Spanish as their mother tongue, Spanish, if allowed in the curriculum at all, was taught as a foreign

language. Hurtado and Rodriguez (1987) suggested that "classifying Spanish as a foreign language akin to French and German further distanced it from English and reinforced Spanish-speaking students' status as foreigners" (410). Nocon (1995) argued that refusing to admit the legitimacy of Spanish as a U.S. language may in fact foster negative attitudes toward local communities.

Social Distance

Another factor that may play a role in learning Spanish in this context was posited by Schumann (1976) who argued that social distance may influence second language acquisition. Social distance is the perceived distance between social groups, more specifically here between the learning group and the target language group, based on ethnic, linguistic, socio-economic, or other differences. In regards to language learning, Schumann maintains that "the assumption is that the greater the social distance between two groups the more difficult it is for members of the 2LL (second language learning) group to acquire the language of the TL (target language) group" (135-36). Schumann suggested looking at a variety of issues to determine the degree of social distance between the 2LL group and the TL group: dominance/subordination, integration pattern, degree of enclosure, group cohesiveness, congruence, length of residence, and attitudes of the two groups toward each other.

It is important to note, however, that Schumann's theory, and others like it, has tended to focus on the acculturation and assimilation of minority groups into a dominant group, but neither of those perspectives applies to Anglos learning Spanish in the

Southwest. In general, Anglos are not trying to acculturate, assimilate, or necessarily become part of the Spanish-speaking group. So while some of the issues Schumann suggests may not be relevant for Anglos (i.e. length of residence and integration pattern), others, such as dominance/ subordination and attitudes, could be factors in the social distance between Anglos and Spanish-speaking populations.

It must be emphasized that Anglos in the U.S. are the learning group studying the language of a subordinate, immigrant group. Therefore, it might be necessary to consider the perception that the dominant group has regarding the integration patterns, degree of enclosure, and cohesiveness of the immigrant group whose language they are learning. How might the perception that the subordinate immigrant group favors preservation, enclosure, and cohesiveness rather than assimilation affect the desire of the dominant group to learn the language of the subordinate group?

The attitudes the learning and target language groups have toward each other also must be taken into consideration according to Schumann. He posited that "the assumption is that if both groups positively value each other, these favorable views will be communicated to the learner and will enhance his acquisition of the target language" (138). He added that this was especially true if both groups believed that language learning was "possible and desirable." If both groups hold negative attitudes, however, and believe that the learning of the target language (Spanish in this case) by the language-learning group (Anglos) is neither necessary nor desirable, "then social distance will prevail" (138).

Schumann suggested that relationships involving political, economic, and cultural dominance and subordination can create distance between two ethnic groups and hinder language acquisition on both sides. Schumann predicted, however, that if the second language learner is in a position of dominance with respect to the target language, "such that its modal status (standard of living, level of education, degree of technical development, political power) is higher than that of the target language group, then social distance will prevail between the two groups" (136). According to Schumann, the dominant learner, in such a situation, will probably not learn very much of the target language and a class of interpreters will develop. This prediction is interesting when considering the large number of Anglo students, a group with economic, linguistic and cultural dominance in relation to local Spanish speakers, who take Spanish classes in the Southwest, but generally don't become proficient.

Linguistic and Cultural Capital

Bourdieu (1986) became interested in the concept of cultural capital while researching the difference in academic achievement, not attributable to natural aptitude, among children from different social classes. He argued that economists only focused on the economic investments of parents in their children's education but that this analysis ignored the "best hidden and socially most determinant educational investment, namely, the domestic transmission of cultural capital" (244).

Cultural capital, according to Bourdieu, refers to the abilities, talents, or a set of skills that carry value in a social market. However, not just any kind of knowledge, skills

or competence can be considered cultural capital. Lamont and Lareau (2003) define cultural capital as "institutionalized, i.e. widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behavior, goods, and credentials)" (156). They also explain that cultural capital is characterized by unequal distribution and is a means of social, cultural, or economic exclusion.

Bourdieu claims: "It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all of its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory" (242). In addition, Bourdieu criticizes economic theory, claiming that "by reducing the universe of exchanges to mercantile exchange […] oriented toward the maximization of profit, i.e., (economically) *self-interested*, it has implicitly defined other forms of exchange as noneconomic, and therefore *disinterested*" (242). Thompson (1991) explains that Bourdieu does not merely reduce the social world and its exchanges to economic terms; he views the social world as a system of symbolic exchanges, of which purely economic exchange is a sub-set. All types of exchanges follow the logic of economic exchange however, in that they seek a maximization of profit. Yet, as Thompson argues, not all stakes are material; there are symbolic profits as well, and we must understand all forms of capital and exchange to understand the social world.

In "Forms of capital" Bourdieu (1986) defines several types of capital, besides economic: social capital, which he defined as the accumulation of prestige and honor and the system of current or potential relationships that are formed through socializing and strategic social investments; and cultural capital which encompasses skills, knowledge,

competences, qualifications, and dispositions which have value and can be exchanged in a certain market. In addition, Bourdieu describes three states in which cultural capital can exist: embodied, which is economic wealth converted into habitus and marked by early transmission; objectified, which is transmitted as material goods such as a painting or an instrument, but presupposes a certain cultural capital to be able to "consume" (i.e. to appreciate a painting or use an instrument); and institutionalized, which comes in the form of educational qualifications and acts as a certificate of cultural competence for its bearer.

Bourdieu (1977a) defines linguistic capital as a sub-set of cultural capital. Linguistic capital appears in markers such as accent and intonation, which are inscribed on the body from early linguistic acquisition, and serve to identify the speaker's social position. Language is one of the many ways of expressing relations of power as it can be used to coerce, encourage, or show politeness or contempt. Bourdieu (1977) explains that linguistic transactions "depend on the structure of the linguistic field, which is itself a particular expression of the structure of the power relations between groups possessing the corresponding competences" (647). In summary, any interaction between two individuals reflects the speakers' relation to each other and their relative amounts of linguistic and cultural capital. Interactions also reflect beyond the individual level, they reflect social relations between linguistic groups and the relative status and prestige of their languages or linguistic resources. He offers the examples of power differentials in a transaction between speakers of the "genteel" language versus the vernacular, and in a

multilingual context, between speakers of the dominant language and the dominated language.

Bourdieu challenges Chomsky's notion of linguistic competence as purely grammatical and phonological and proposes that any notion of competence must include the notion of appropriateness and legitimacy. Any speech interaction must take into account appropriateness of context and appropriateness of speech and must also presuppose a legitimate speaker and a legitimate receiver. Bourdieu defines competence as "the capacity to command a listener" and "the power to impose reception" in a given context (648). Bourdieu then claims that "it follows from the expanded definition of competence that a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, i.e. the power and authority in the economic and cultural power relations of the holders of the corresponding competence" (652).

Bourdieu describes that what occurs in a multilingual situation is that since not all languages are socially equal, one language imposes itself as the legitimate language. Bourdieu argues that "when one language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the prices of the other modes of expression, and with them the values of the various competences, are defined" (652). The worth of a language and its speakers is important to consider when looking at a linguistic choice such as language acquisition.

There have been several interesting studies that look at language learning from a cultural capital framework. McCollum (1999), for example, conducted research in an additive bilingual school, where Spanish-speaking students learn English and English-speaking students learn Spanish. It was a school that from outside appearances, actively

promoted both English and Spanish. In an earlier study, McCollum had found that both groups of students positively valued the idea of bilingualism, stating that it would help them find better jobs after graduation. Yet, McCollum addresses the question: "Why then, given their positive stance regarding bilingualism, did they use English almost exclusively in school?" (120).

McCollum found that in many ways, often quite subtle, English was marked as the language of power, prestige, and importance. McCollum explains: "On the surface level, efforts were made to increase awareness of Spanish and the bilingual program within the school.[…] Beneath the surface, however, other features worked to mark the school as an English domain" (124). The announcements were given in both languages, but English was always first. Students spent a lot of time preparing for the state-wide test that determined if they would pass on to the next level, but the test in Spanish was given very little attention. Students even intuited that they needed to speak English well to have any real chance of being popular, which meant assimilating with the Anglo students.

Although Anglo students didn't take Spanish very seriously, McCollum addresses how even the "Mexican-background students came to devalue Spanish in a bilingual program designed to promote native language maintenance" (116). Mexican and Mexican-heritage students reported that their teachers did not value their variety of Spanish: their word choices and phonological and syntactical elements of their variety of Spanish, their native language, was constantly corrected and consistently evaluated negatively. McCollum found that these students often chose to speak English rather than Spanish and often at the expense of Spanish, "because their linguistic cultural capital was

not accepted at the trading post" (131). It is an issue, she claims, that points to " 'The politics of language'—what is gained by choosing to speak a certain language, language variety, or style of speech in a given context, at both the macro level of school organization, in the micro level of classroom and peer group interaction" (118). Anglo students learned that Spanish was not a requisite for success in school and the Spanish-speaking students learned to value English over their native language.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977b) claim that schools often legitimate and reproduce the cultural capital of the dominant classes. It is an example of what they call "symbolic violence" which is the imposition, as legitimate competence, of certain forms of knowledge, while concealing its relations to power. McCollum further explains:

> Students are individuals who possess differential class-based knowledge that does not have equal exchange value within the school. As a consequence, children of the dominant class who display social and linguistic competence required by the school curriculum excel, graduate, and obtain better jobs after graduation. Working class children, on the other hand, learn from their school experiences not to expect success, experience leveled aspirations, and exhibit negative group attitudes regarding their futures (114).

Peirce (1995), in a qualitative study looking at adult second language learners, argued that many studies of second language acquisition don't take into account that "language learners do not live in idealized, homogenous communities, but in complex heterogeneous ones" (12). Drawing from social identity theory, Peirce works from the assumption that "power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target language speakers" (12). Many theories of language learning suggest that good learners, with high levels of motivation, will seek out

opportunities to use the language they are learning. Yet, Peirce objects, arguing that these theories "have been developed on the premise that language learners can choose under what conditions they will interact with members of the target community and that the language learner's access to the target language community is a function of the learner's motivation" (12).

Peirce later argues that these theories do not take into account the inequitable power relations that may put limitations on language learners, in effect preventing them from real practice opportunities outside the classroom and she criticizes the field of motivation for failing to comprehend these complex relations of power. Her point is valid, but her very brief review of motivation only touches on the concepts of integrative and instrumental motivation, more correctly understood as orientations, rather than some of the more current research in motivation that does at least address the social aspects of language learning. Much like other proponents of a more socio-cultural approach to language learning, she does also criticize the lack of consideration of social factors:

> many have assumed that learners can be defined unproblematically as motivated or unmotivated […] without considering that such affective factors are frequently socially constructed in inequitable relations of power, changing over time and space, and possible co-existing in contradictory ways in a single individual (12).

Because of her objections, rather than the term motivation, she uses a cultural capital framework to argue for language learning as an investment, a term which she claims better signals the "sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice" a language (17). When language learners invest in or choose to learn a language, "they do so with

the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital" (17). Peirce views it as more of an exchange: learners invest in language learning and get something of value in return: "a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources" (17). Following a similar argument of investment, Lantolf (2001) suggests that language learners whose histories do not justify an investment in learning a certain language will remain as unwilling participants on the edge.

Many of the studies that look at language learning through the lens of cultural capital, such as this study by Peirce, look at language learners, often immigrants or minorities, who are learning the language of the dominant group. In these cases, not knowing the language is indeed an obstacle for accessing resources, because those who don't speak the dominant language are often excluded from access to economic resources, educational resources, and full participation in the society. Other studies look at learning English as a foreign language that will give the learners access to certain resources in a global exchange. However there are very few studies that look at situations in which the dominant group is learning the language of the subordinate/minority group.

English speakers in the Southwestern U.S. speak the language of symbolic power, the language that allows access to material resources. Spanish is often considered a language of lower status and the language and its speakers are often considered to have an illegitimate presence in the U.S. There is often resentment towards the Spanish-speaking population for its perceived reluctance to learn English as well as the perceived

strain on the economy caused by illegal immigrants and their supposed access to social services. In these situations, how do dominant group members conceptualize Spanish-language learning as an investment? Does the history Anglo/Hispanic tensions in the Southwest justify an investment in learning Spanish? Is knowing Spanish considered an increase in cultural capital? What resources, symbolic or material do they hope to have access to? As members of the dominant group, are they motivated to seek out practice opportunities with speakers of the subordinate target language? Are English-speaking students to be considered unwilling participants? These questions have not been given enough attention in regards to English-speaking students studying a subordinate language such as Spanish.

Attitudes and Motivation in Context

There have been few studies that look at the motivation of students studying Spanish in the context of the Southwest. Nocon (1995) conducted a study of college students' motivation for studying Spanish after encountering reluctance to even discuss attitudes about Spanish speakers. Her study in San Diego found that some students' choices to study Spanish reflected "a personal desire to achieve cross-cultural understanding with the predominantly Mexican target community" despite its low-status and low-prestige she acknowledged that there was also the possibility that the choice to study Spanish "may be made in spite of the local target community rather than because of it" (48).

Nocon's findings suggested "social distancing from the 'known other' in favor of what appears to be a more positive generalized stereotype associated with 'Spanish speaker'" (48). Essentially, students envisioned using Spanish with an idealized Spanish speaker, while all but ignoring the ones they came into contact with on a daily basis. Her findings support other research "that would define borders as unique areas where tensions are exacerbated and contact coexists with isolation" (48). In addition, many of her findings also supported the idea that Spanish is a language of lower status and prestige. She did find that students were uncomfortable responding and did not readily admit negative attitudes, but that Spanish for use in the U.S. was apparently not perceived as a legitimate reason to learn the language.

Conclusion

When Wertsch (1991) argued, from a socio-cultural perspective, that language cannot be understood as merely isolated utterances of purely syntactical or phonological interest, abstracted from social use, he was referring to how an utterance must be understood in its socio-cultural context, not necessarily to how an entire language that is being learned is understood. I would expand his claim to suggest that even foreign language learning cannot be limited to syntax and phonology, but must also be considered in its broader socio-cultural context. Studying Spanish in the Southwestern U.S. is not isolated to what happens in the classroom, it does not happen in a social vacuum; it is not just about learning verb tenses, vocabulary, and phonetic rules. Studying Spanish in the U.S. goes beyond grammar rules: it is intimately tied up with

notions of status, with relations of power, with the notion of what Spanish is worth in relation to English, and with attitudes toward Spanish-speakers.

CHAPTER 3

Research Methods

This chapter describes the research methodology used in this study including the research design, a description of the participants, instrumentation, data collection procedures, research questions, and a description of the data analyses to be used.

Research Design

This is essentially a cross-sectional quantitative study of Anglo students of Spanish in four levels of language study. This study uses four self-report measures to gather data on individual background characteristics of students learning Spanish, to explore their motivational intensity, their attitudes toward the Spanish language and Spanish speakers, and their reasons, or motivational orientations for studying Spanish.

Setting

February 2009

This study was conducted in February 2009, just weeks after the inauguration of President Barack Obama, who made history by becoming the first African-American to take the office of President of The United States. February was several months after the landmark presidential election, in which young people mobilized, inspired by Obama's message of hope and change, and became a major contributing force in his historic win.

There were many speculations, in the aftermath of the elections, as to the significance of the event in terms of the existing racial tensions in the U.S.

On the negative side, the U.S. had been hit with the biggest financial crisis since the Great Depression: Wall Street was in shambles; several huge financial institutions crumbled; U.S. auto-manufacturers were facing bankruptcy; unemployment skyrocketed; and government increased the national debt in order to allocate billions of dollars to bolster the economy.

It is unknown how or if these events may have influenced the participants' responses in this study, but because of the possible impact of these events, I felt I should report them here.

Texas: The Larger Context

Texas is one of four states that shares a border with Mexico and one of the areas in the U.S. where Anglos and Hispanics first made contact as early as 1819. Census data from the Texas State Data Center and Office of the State Demographer show that Texas had a population of nearly 21 million in 2000, (estimated population for 2006 was 23.5 million). In 2000 53.1% of the population in Texas identified themselves as Anglo and 32% identified themselves as Hispanic. Figures show that since 1980 there has been a slight but steady decline in the percentage of the Texas population made up of Anglos: 65.7%—1980; 60.6%—1990; 53.1%—2000; and an estimated 48.1% in 2006. While the Anglo population has been declining, there has simultaneously been a slight but steady increase in the percentage of the population made up of Hispanics: 21.0%—1980;

25.6%—1990; 32.0%—2000; and an estimated 36.1% in 2006. According to the 2000 census, at least 76% of the Hispanic population in Texas is Mexican or of Mexican descent. It is unknown to what extent these figures reflect the number of undocumented immigrants residing in the state.

The Study Site

The University of Texas at Austin is one of the largest post-secondary institutions in the United States with a total student body of just over 51,000. The undergraduate student body, the target population for this study, comprises the largest percentage of students enrolled. Figures from the *2008-2009 Statistical Handbook* from the Office of Information Management and Analysis at UT Austin show that for fall 2008 there were 37,389 undergraduate students. The vast majority of these undergraduates, 93.2% were between the ages of 18-24. In addition, the majority of undergraduate students, 91.9% are residents of Texas. The rest of the students are a mix of out-of-state (4.0%) and international (4.1%). Just over half (54.7%) of the undergraduate population is classified as white[1]; the rest of the student body is composed of 17.6 % Hispanic, 18.1%. Asian-Americans, 4.8% African-American, 4.1% international, and 0.6% other.

[1] The term white is used here, rather than Anglo, because it is the term used by the Office of Information Management and Analysis at UT Austin in the Statistical Handbook.

The Department of Spanish and Portuguese

Based on the number of undergraduate courses offered, The Department of Spanish and Portuguese is one of the largest departments at UT Austin, and by far the largest foreign language department. The Department of Spanish and Portuguese also has a large graduate program, and employs many graduate students as Assistant Instructors who teach the majority of the lower-division Spanish courses. In fall 2008, the Department of Spanish and Portuguese offered approximately 120 lower-division undergraduate Spanish courses. Because most of these were closed and/or waitlisted and there is a class-size maximum of 25 students, there were approximately 3000 students enrolled in lower-division Spanish courses that semester. This type of enrollment is true for most semesters. The language with the second largest enrollment in terms of number of students is French, with a total of 43 undergraduate courses offered in fall 2008, enrolling approximately 850 students.

There is a sequence of four semesters of lower-division Spanish study: 506 is the first semester of Spanish instruction, 508k is the second semester, 312k is the third, and 312L is the fourth. Most bachelor degree programs at the university require that students complete the four-semester sequence of foreign language study, and Spanish is the foreign language of choice for an overwhelming majority of undergraduates wanting to fulfill the language requirement. Many students who take Spanish courses at the university level have also taken Spanish during their secondary education, sometimes for 3 or 4 years. The Department of Spanish and Portuguese offers students a placement test to determine in which level they should begin. Students with several years of high school

instruction may be placed in a third or fourth semester course, meaning that not all students pass through all four levels of the Spanish program. However, some students report feeling that too much time has passed since their last Spanish class or that they didn't learn enough in high school Spanish and they opt to enroll in a lower level regardless of their score on the placement exam.

The Spanish language program states its purpose, goals, and objectives in the syllabus of each course level. This information is also provided for the 80+ graduate instructors during the instructor orientation at the beginning of each academic year. The purpose, goals and objectives, as stated on the first page of each course-syllabus, are as follows:

> The Spanish Language Program will help you develop multilingual literacies through the analysis and use of Spanish as a second language.
>
> The program focuses on the development of three major types of competencies (all equally ranked in terms of importance):
>
> (1) **Linguistic Competence** (linguistic proficiency in Spanish including knowledge of phonetics/phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon, discourse, etc.).
>
> (2) **Communication/Interactional Competence** (communicative abilities in Spanish including knowledge of sociocultural uses of the language, pragmatics, cultural background/perspectives).
>
> (3) **Metalinguistic Competence** (awareness of language as a conceptual, symbolic system).
>
> The objective of the language program addresses the basic tenets of a liberal arts education: the development of a critical thinking approach towards the analysis of perspectives and products of our society. This objective is framed in an overall worldwide trend towards political and economical internationalization and an increasingly diverse and multicultural work environment. (SPN 506 syllabus, spring 2009)

The first level, 506, is designed for true beginners in Spanish language learning. By limiting the number of 506 courses offered and by asking instructors to identify students who are not true beginners and suggest that they take a more advanced course, the language program has tried to assure that students in 506 courses are, in fact, true beginners. 506 courses cover the first six chapters of the fourteen-chapter textbook, *Impresiones* (Salaberry, Barette, Elliott, & Fernández-García, 2004). These chapters cover the basics of Spanish grammar: articles, gender agreement, subject/object pronouns, informal/formal register, the present tense, adjectives, and basic vocabulary. Students are given a variety of short texts to read and are also asked to write short compositions. The objectives of 506 are stated as follows:

> In Spanish 506 you will be able to:
>
> (a) develop the skills to understand spoken Spanish representative of various genres, levels of formality, etc.;
>
> (b) develop the interactional abilities to speak Spanish well enough to communicate simple ideas and interact with Spanish-speaking people;
>
> (c) develop the academic ability to analyze the structure of Spanish with regard to rules of both written and spoken grammars;
>
> (d) develop the academic ability to read a variety of written texts in Spanish (e.g., announcements, newspaper articles, letters, advertisements, brochures, editorials, etc.)
>
> (e) develop the academic ability to write short compositions on various topics covered in the program;
>
> (f) critically analyze and understand some of the cultural beliefs and practices of the Hispanic world;
>
> (g) critically analyze and recognize basic features of various regional variations of Spanish. (SPN 506 syllabus, spring 2009)

508 is both the second semester and the accelerated first-year course (first and second semesters combined). 508 courses are designed for students: a) who have completed 506 and/or b) who have had some exposure to Spanish instruction in high school, but that aren't advanced enough for the third semester, 312k, and need some review. 508 courses cover the first 11 chapters of the textbook *Impresiones*. The first half of the course is meant to be a review for all students, covering the first six chapters of the textbook fairly quickly (for students from 506, these chapters are repeated). The second half of the semester presents new grammar topics: the contrast between the two past tenses, preterite and imperfect; direct and indirect object pronouns, prepositions, and commands. Students should be able to read longer texts and write more advanced compositions. The objectives of 508 are stated on the syllabus as follows:

> By the end of first-year Spanish, you should be able to do the following:
>
> (a) understand spoken Spanish in simple conversations directed to you, and understand the main ideas of videos about Hispanic cultures;
>
> (b) speak Spanish well enough to communicate simple ideas and survive in a Spanish-speaking country;
>
> (c) handle the basic tenses and other grammatical forms in simple sentences in speaking and writing;
>
> (d) understand the main ideas and some details of short printed texts such as announcements, newspaper articles, advertisements, brochures, etc.
>
> (e) write short compositions;
>
> (f) understand some of the cultural values and practices of the Hispanic world. (SPN 508 syllabus, spring 2009)

The third semester, 312k, focuses on further developing listening, speaking, writing, and reading skills while increasing vocabulary and "gaining a better understanding of Hispanic cultures in order to communicate in an accurate, effective, and informed manner within a variety of sociocultural situations" (312k syllabus). There is some review in 312k, but much time is spent learning and practicing with the various tenses in the subjunctive mood. The objectives of 312k are stated on the syllabus as follows:

> (a) speak the language well enough to converse on a variety of topics with class members;
>
> (b) have short conversations with native speakers of Spanish on everyday topics, such as school, work, and interests;
>
> (c) comprehend the spoken language well enough to get the main ideas and some details from video material, such as news broadcasts, cultural programs, and films;
>
> (d) read texts, such as news and magazine articles, poems, stories, etc., and respond to them orally and in writing;
>
> (e) write compositions on a variety of topics;
>
> (f) understand the basic rules of Spanish grammar and use them in writing and speaking; and
>
> (g) understand cultural values of the Hispanic world as well as the underlying similarities and differences between those cultures and your own. (SPN 312k syllabus, spring 2009)

The goal of the fourth semester Spanish course, 312L, is to review and perfect all of the grammar that would have been presented in the first three courses, while working on improving fluency and accuracy in speaking, writing, and increased comprehension

skills in listening and reading. Another stated goal of 312L is the increase of cultural knowledge: "an understanding of different cultures throughout the Spanish-speaking world and to develop cross-cultural awareness" (312L syllabus). The language goals for 312L, as stated in the syllabus, are as follows:

> **Goals for the SPN 312L course include:** describing and comparing in detail; narrating in the present, past and future; giving advice, expressing opinions and reacting to dramatic events and situations; talking about likes and dislikes and explaining why; and hypothesizing on both personal and impersonal topics. In both oral and written work, you will learn to support your opinions clearly and convincingly. (SPN 312L syllabus, spring 2009)

It is also interesting to note that three of the four course syllabi, all except the 312L syllabus, included a brief note explaining that students' success is due, in large part, to motivation and the time and effort students put forth:

> Research in second language learning has shown that the two most important factors that will contribute to your progress are the **motivation** to practice and use the language and the **time** you spend studying, practicing, and using the language. Thus, in the long run, your degree of success depends greatly on you. (312k syllabus, spring 2009)

Data Collection Procedures

The target population for this study was undergraduate students studying Spanish as a foreign language. I requested permission to gather data from a total of 16 Spanish sections, four sections from each of the four lower-division levels of study: Spanish 506, 508k, 312k, and 312L. Permission was granted by the Director of the Language Program in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese to collect data during spring 2009. The

Director solicited the participation of the four level-supervisors who each chose four sections at varying times. Course instructors voluntarily agreed to participate and notified their students that a questionnaire was to be administered. Data were collected during three days in February 2009. Questionnaires took approximately 20 minutes to complete.

In each class, the purpose of the study was introduced and all students in each class were invited to participate. I explained what participants would be asked to do and what kind of information would be asked on the questionnaire. I also assured participants of confidentiality, specifying that course instructors would not have access to the questionnaires and that once gathered, no one would know who had completed any given questionnaire. It was also reiterated that participation was voluntary and was in no way connected to their class grade. Students were given a consent form to read and sign and were then given a questionnaire. I explained that there were no right or wrong answers and participants should answer all items as honestly as possible. Those who chose to participate completed the questionnaires.

Participants

Data were gathered from 16 sections, four from each level. As previously mentioned, Spanish language courses have a maximum enrollment of 25 students, which allowed for a possible total of 400 participants, approximately 100 from each level. Because class sizes vary slightly and not all students were present or wished to

participate, questionnaires were completed by 318 participants. See Table 3.1 for a breakdown of participants by level.

Table 3.1: Breakdown of Participants by Course Level

Course	Semester	Number of participants	Percentage
506	1	78	24.5
508k	2	80	25.2
312k	3	84	26.4
312l	4	76	23.9
Total	--	318	100

There were between 76-84 participants per level, a fairly even distribution. Of the 318 participants, 44.3% (n= 141) were male and 55.7% (n= 177) were female. The participants ranged in age from 18 - 48, with an average age of 20.6 and 98% of the participants falling between 18 and 25. 96.5 % (n= 307) of the participants claimed to be Texas residents.

Nearly all, with the exception of one participant, had taken a foreign language in high school; 90% (n=286) of the participants took Spanish, with an average number of years of study of 2.92 (SD= 0.931). Only 6% percent (n= 19) had taken another language at the college level. A large majority, 95%, reported speaking English as a native language; 88% reported speaking no other language besides English fluently. 5% (n= 17)

reported speaking a native language other than English and (n= 39, 12%) reported speaking another language, besides English, fluently. Of the students who reported speaking another language, either as a native language or fluently as a second language, the most common languages were Vietnamese, Farsi, and Spanish.

The ethnic breakdown of the participants was somewhat similar to the breakdown of the undergraduate population at the University of Texas. 64.2% (n= 204) identified themselves as Anglo/White; 16.7% (n= 53) as Hispanic; 11.3% (n= 36) as Asian; 5.7% (n= 18) as African-American; one participant self-identified as Native American; and the 1.6 % (n= 6) that identified themselves as "other" or as belonging to numerous ethnic groups were classified as "other" for purposes of data analysis. Table 3.2 contains a breakdown of participants by ethnic group. Table 3.3 contains the ethnic breakdown of participants by course level.

Table 3.2: Breakdown of Participants by Self-identified Ethnic Group

Ethnicity	Number of participants	Percentage of participants
Anglo	204	64.2
African-Am	18	5.7
Latino	53	16.7
Asian	36	11.3
Native-Am	1	.3
other	6	1.9
Total	318	100.0

Table 3.3: Breakdown of Ethnic Group by Course Level

Ethnicity	Number of participants by level	
Anglo	506	47
	508k	47
	312k	53
	312l	57
	Total	204
African-Am	506	9
	508k	3
	312k	4
	312l	2
	Total	18
Latino	506	10
	508k	18
	312k	15
	312l	10
	Total	53
Asian	506	11
	508k	11
	312k	9
	312l	5
	Total	36
Native-Am	506	1
other	508k	1
	312k	3
	312l	2
	Total	6
Total		318

Participants were asked on the Individual Background Questionnaire to express in their own words why they were studying Spanish. Over a third, (38%, N = 121) specified

that they were taking Spanish to fulfill the language requirement/to graduate, often in conjunction with other reasons, such as the number of Spanish-speakers in Texas, usefulness of the language for future careers, and the desire to travel. Participants were also asked to select their principal reason, from a list of 8 alternatives, for choosing to study Spanish rather than another language. Though instructions asked them to choose the main reason, many selected more than one reason for studying Spanish. Over half of the 318 participants (N = 182, 57%) marked *"It will be useful for my future career"* as one of the principal reasons for choosing Spanish. More than half (N = 164, 52%) also selected *"I have already studied Spanish and wanted to learn more"* as a main reason for study. Students' reasons for choosing Spanish over other languages are shown in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Reasons for Choosing Spanish over Other Languages

Reason	**Frequency**	**Percentage**
It will be useful for my future career	182	57.2
I have already studied some Spanish and wanted to learn more.	164	51.6
For future travel purposes.	93	29.2
Personal interest.	90	28.3
It's easier than other languages.	76	23.9
I have already studied Spanish and I wanted an easy A.	51	16
For heritage reasons.	34	10.7
It was a convenient fit for my schedule.	12	3.8

** Since participants often marked more than one possibility, the percentages reflect the number of participants, out of 204, that marked each item.*

Measures

In addition to an Individual Background Questionnaire (IBQ) created by me, participants were administered three scales: a modified version of Gardner's Attitudes and Motivation Test Battery with additional items taken from other sources (ModAMTB); an additional scale with items taken from two sources: Dornyei and Clement's Language Orientation Questionnaire (2001) and from the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (1925), this will be referred to as the Language Comparison-Social Distance Scale (LCSD); items from one of the short forms of the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (MCSDS) were also administered.

Individual Background Questionnaire

The purpose of this questionnaire was to elicit participants' ethnic background, gender, state residency, and age. Participants' were also asked about their language background and experience: native language, languages spoken at home, current Spanish course, previous Spanish courses, years of Spanish study, other languages studied. In order to corroborate the score resulting from the Motivation scale from the ModAMTB, at the end of the IBQ, participants were asked to assess their level of motivation for studying Spanish from 1 to 10 (see Appendix A for the IBQ).

Modified AMTB

After several initial studies by Gardner and Lambert (1972), the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) was developed by Gardner and Smythe (1975,

1981) to measure affective factors associated with language learning. The AMTB is a questionnaire comprised of eleven subscales that are grouped into several attitudinal and motivational indices. The original studies were conducted in Francophone Canada, with students learning French as a second language, to measure students' motivation to learn French, students' attitudes towards French and French-Canadians, and several other variables associated with language learning. The AMTB has been used in numerous studies and is generally considered to be a measure with adequate validity and reliability (Gardner, Lalonde, & Moorcroft, 1985; Gardner & Lysynchuk, 1990; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). Initial studies using the measure found a median reliability of .85 (Gardner, 1985b).

Permission to use the AMTB was requested and granted by Robert Gardner in September, 2008. All items used here have been adapted to fit this study where Spanish is the language of study and Spanish speakers and their culture are of interest: the term *Hispanics* was used in place of *French Canadians* and *Spanish* in place of *French*. Items have been grouped slightly differently for this study to reflect the variables investigated and wording for some of the items has been altered slightly. For purposes of this study, most of the original items from these seven sub-scales of the AMTB were adapted: attitudes toward Hispanics, attitudes toward learning Spanish, desire to learn Spanish, motivational intensity, interest in foreign languages, and items from the instrumental and integrative orientation sub-scales.

The two main measures that this study explored will be termed "Motivational Intensity" and "Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers". The measure used here

which I have called "Motivational Intensity" includes the original AMTB components: desire to learn Spanish and attitude toward learning Spanish. (Sample items include: *I would like to be fluent in Spanish* and *Studying Spanish is a waste of time*.) I added several additional items from other sources, such as Schmidt and Wanatabe (2001) and Worth (2006), related to the desire to continue taking Spanish courses after fulfilling the requirement (e.g. *I would take Spanish even if it weren't required* and *I plan on taking Spanish beyond the language requirement*.) There are 24 items on the motivation measure; 12 were reverse-coded. All items were answered on a five-point Likert scale: from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Each response was assigned a number from 1 to 5: 1 being the most negative answer possible and 5 being the most positive answer. The total score for the Motivational Intensity measure is an average of the 24 items: calculated by summing the responses for all 24 items for each participant, and dividing by 24. The resulting score, between 1 and 5, indicates the intensity of each participant's motivation: 1 meaning very unmotivated; 2 being somewhat unmotivated; 3 neither motivated nor unmotivated; 4 somewhat motivated; and 5 very motivated.

For the Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers measure, the AMTB subscale "Attitudes toward French Canadians," with the term *Hispanics* replacing *French Canadians* and *Spanish* replacing *French*, served as the base for approximately half of the items. Sample items include: *I would like to get to know more Hispanics in my community* and *Hispanic culture has a negative impact on the U.S.* I also developed several items dealing with attitudes toward immigration and Spanish-speaking immigrants in the U.S., based on attitudes commonly expressed in the media (e.g.

Undocumented immigrants are a drain on our economy and *I support programs to help undocumented immigrants become citizens*). There are 24 items on the Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers measure, 12 of which were reverse-coded. Similar to the score for the Motivational Intensity measure, the total score for the Attitudes measure is an average, calculated by summing the 24 items and dividing by 24. The resulting score, a number between 1 and 5, indicates how positive or negative a participant's attitudes are: 1 being quite negative; 3 being neutral, neither positive nor negative; and 5 being very positive.

The sub-scale "Interest in Foreign Languages," from the AMTB was also included to assess participants' general openness to language learning and was analyzed here as a separate measure, not included in either the Motivational Intensity or Attitude measures. Sample items include: *Studying a foreign language is especially relevant in today's world* and *I really have no desire to learn a foreign language*.

I also included 14 orientation items to explore the reasons why participants choose to study Spanish: 4 items from both the instrumental orientation scale (e.g. *Knowing Spanish will have financial benefits for me*) and the integrative orientation scale (e.g. *Studying Spanish is important because I would like to make friends with Spanish speakers in my community*) are included, along with 4 additional items reflecting a knowledge/status orientation (e.g. *Learning Spanish will give me a broader view of the world*). Several of these items are taken from the AMTB and several items were found in other sources such as: Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Ramage, 1986; Worth, 2006; Benjamin & Chen, 2003; Schmidt & Watanabe, 2001. The last two items address the

requirement orientation (e.g. *I am only taking Spanish because of the foreign language requirement*) and the perception that Spanish is easier than other languages (e.g. *I am only taking Spanish because it is the easiest foreign language to learn*). (See Appendix C for the ModAMTB.)

Reliability of the Measures

To ascertain the internal reliability of the measures on the questionnaire administered for this study, Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, Motivational Intensity, Interest in Foreign Languages, and the three orientations: Instrumental, Knowledge/Status, and Integrative, Chronbach's alpha coefficients were computed. All measures showed high levels of reliability as reported in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Reliability Coefficients

Measure	Chronbach's Alpha Coefficient	Number of Items
Motivation	.95	24
Attitude	.92	24
Interest in Foreign Languages	.83	10
Instrumental Orientation	.71	4
Knowledge/Status Orientation	.71	4
Integrative Orientation	.82	4

**Data from all 318 participants were used to compute reliability.*

Language Comparison-Social Distance Scale

The 18 items on the Language Comparison and Social Distance (LCSD) measure used in this study are drawn from two sources and use a five-point response scale. The first twelve items were taken from a questionnaire from Dörnyei and Clément (2001) who developed a motivation measure based on previously established questionnaires (among them the AMTB). Because these researchers adapted items from established measures with what they deemed "sufficient validity and reliability coefficients" (405), they did not perform additional tests of validity and reliability.

One of the interesting facets of this questionnaire is that it assessed student attitudes towards five different languages and their corresponding communities. This approach allows for a comparison of attitudes towards different languages and language communities. Dörnyei and Clément chose five languages that were commonly taught in their context. For purposes of this study, French and Italian were also used since they are also commonly taught in the U.S. and at the University of Texas, the study site. Instead of English, German, and Russian however, Spanish, Arabic, and Chinese were chosen: Spanish, because it is the focus language of the present study, Arabic and Chinese because of economic and political importance and to include two strategic non-European languages.

There are four items on the scale that assess attitudes toward the corresponding countries where these languages are spoken (e.g. *How much would you like to travel these countries?* and *How important a role do you think these countries play in the world?*) The countries included were France for French, Italy for Italian, and China for

Chinese. Saudi Arabia was chosen for Arabic, as a country that would be widely recognized, but considered somewhat neutral (i.e., as opposed to Iraq.) Both Spain and Mexico were included to represent Spanish language communities in order to determine if there is a difference in attitudes towards European Spanish speakers as opposed to the Spanish speakers from Mexico that compose the largest local population of Spanish speakers residing in Texas.

The other six items in this scale were taken from the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (1925), a psychometric scale that measures the closeness or distance a person feels towards members of other social groups. There are seven items, on the original scale, asking to what extent a person would accept members of a given group into social relationships of decreasing intimacy: relatives by marriage, friends, neighbors, co-workers, citizens of the country, visitors, or excluded from the country altogether. It is designed to be a cumulative scale: agreement with any item of great intimacy implies agreement with previous items of lesser intimacy. Willingness to accept members of another group as relatives by marriage implies low levels of social distance while wishing to exclude members from one's country implies a high level of social distance. Six of the seven items were used in the current study, all but the item asking willingness to accept an out-group member as a co-worker. Another difference with the original scale is that participants were asked, not *if* they would be willing, but *how much* they would like to accept members of the given language communities to the various social relationships (i.e. *How much would you like to accept people from these countries as relatives by marriage?* and *How much would you like to accept people from these countries as*

citizens of the U.S.A.? They were asked to rate their willingness on a 5-point Likert scale, similar to the other measures.

Social Desirability Scale

Also included in the questionnaire were eight items from the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Because some of the racial attitudes that this study investigates are negative and may not be viewed as acceptable or favorable, and because participants may want to appear as though they are motivated to learn Spanish, there is the possibility and concern that some participants may tend to respond in a socially desirable manner. In fact, Gardner, Lalonde, & Moorcroft (1985) point out that one of the criticisms of previous motivation studies is that the measures used in the studies may be confounded with social desirability (209). The Marlowe-Crowne is the most widely used scale of its kind describing "culturally approved behaviors that have a low incidence of occurrence" (Zook & Sipps, 1985; 236). It is presumed that participants would answer items honestly if they were not trying to portray themselves in a socially desirable manner.

The original scale, which contains 33 true-false items, is too long to include in many measures, but several studies (Reynolds, 1982; Zook & Sipps, 1985) have concluded that shorter forms are sufficiently valid and reliable for the purposes of many studies. The various short forms that have been tested have between 10 and 20 items. Because the questionnaire for this study already had so many items, only 8 social desirability items were included. 6 of the 8 items were taken from one short form;

additional items were chosen because they were perceived to be more relevant to the target population.

A sample item on the Marlow-Crowne Social Desirability Scale was: *I have never intensely disliked anyone*. Marking "true" would indicate a socially desirable response, whereas "false" would likely represent a more forthright response. For every item on the scale where a participant marked the answer considered socially desirable, a point was given; for answers not considered socially desirable, no points were given. A participant's score is the sum of all the points given for socially desirable responses. A participant could score from 0 to 8: 8 representing the highest level of social desirability. See Appendix D for the MCSDS.

Social Desirability Correlates

To ascertain if social desirability was a factor in how participants responded to the questionnaire administered on the main measures of motivational intensity and attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers, a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated. The correlations of social desirability with both measures were not significant (motivational intensity, $r = .13$; attitudes, $r = .03$) indicating that social desirability is not a concern in considering the reliability of the data. See Tables 3.6 for social desirability correlates with motivational intensity and attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers.

Table 3.6: Social Desirability Correlates[2]

Variable		Social Desirability	Attitudes	Motivational Intensity
Social Desirability	Pearson	1	.03	.13
	Sig.		.72	.06

Preliminary Analyses

Before outlining my research questions, I want to address the selection of participants for data analysis. The theoretical framework outlined in the review of the literature, presupposes that Anglos may internalize issues of social, cultural, and linguistic dominance differently than individuals of Hispanic heritage, and perhaps differently than other English-speaking minority groups. In order to determine if Anglos did in fact perform differently than the other ethnic groups on the measures of motivational intensity and attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers I conducted a set of preliminary analyses. A MANOVA compared the averages of each of the measures across the 4 major ethnic groups to determine if there was a significant difference between the groups. Because of the small number of Native Americans and the group classified as "other," they were not included in this analysis.

[2] Correlates reported for social desirability were calculated using only the 204 Anglo participants that were used in data analysis. It was noted, however, that when calculated using all 318 participants, the correlation between social desirability and motivational intensity was significant at the 0.01 level (r = .19). This indicates that perhaps for some ethnic groups, social desirability may play a role in responding.

The average scores for the motivational intensity measure for all groups were between 3 and 4: between neutral (neither motivated nor unmotivated) and somewhat motivated. The Asian group scored the lowest on motivational intensity with a mean score of 3.37 (n= 36) followed by Anglos 3.72 (n= 204). The African-American group (n= 18) scored just higher than Anglos with a mean of 3.78 and the highest scoring group was Hispanics (n= 53) with a mean of 4.02. Results show that the difference between group averages is significant $F(3, 307) = 5.93$, $p = .001$. See Table 3.7 for motivational intensity means.

Table 3.7: Motivational Intensity Means for Ethnic Groups

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number
Anglo	3.71	0.73	204
African-Amer	3.78	0.75	18
Hispanic	4.02	0.69	53
Asian	3.37	0.73	36

Similarly, for the measure of attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers, the averages were calculated and compared across the 4 ethnic groups in consideration. Anglos scored the lowest, with a mean of 3.44, followed by Asians with a mean of 3.53.

African-Americans scored slightly higher, with a mean of 3.72, and finally Hispanics scored highest on the attitude measure, with a mean of 3.93. The MANOVA results indicate that there are significant differences between the groups $F(3, 307) = 10.54$, $p < .001$. See Table 3.8 for attitude means.

Table 3.8: Attitude Means for Ethnic Groups

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number
Anglo	3.44	0.61	204
African-Amer	3.72	0.49	18
Hispanic	3.93	0.49	53
Asian	3.53	0.52	36

Post-hoc analyses were conducted to determine which groups scored significantly differently from the Anglo group. The results were significant in comparing the Anglo group (n= 204) with the Hispanic group (n=53) for both the attitude and motivational intensity measures. For the attitude measure (Anglo mean: 3.44; Hispanic mean: 3.93) differences were significant, $F(1, 255) = 28.68$, $p < .001$, indicating that Hispanics had significantly more positive attitudes than Anglos. Also for motivational intensity (Anglo mean: 3.71; Hispanic mean: 4.02) the results were significant, $F(1, 255) = 7.51$, $p=.007$, indicating that Hispanics are significantly more motivated to learn Spanish than Anglos.

In comparing the Anglo group (n= 204) with the Asian group (n=27), results were significant for the motivational intensity measure but not for attitudes. Anglos scored higher than Asians for motivational intensity (Anglo mean: 3.71; Asian mean: 3.37). Results showed that this was significant, $F(1, 229) = 9.87$, $p = .002$. Differences were not found however in how Anglos and Asians scored on the measure of attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers. Though Anglos scored slightly lower than their Asian counterparts (Anglo mean: 3.44; Asian mean: 3.53), results were not significant $F(1, 229) = .38$, $p = .54$.

In comparing the Anglo group (n=204) with the African-American group (n= 18) no significant differences were found. Though Anglos scored lower on average than African Americans on the measure of attitudes, (Anglo mean: 3.44; African-American mean: 3.78) the results were not statistically significant ($p = .059$). The differences in results for Anglo and African-American groups were not significantly different on the measure of motivational intensity either. The average scores for the two groups were quite close, with African Americans scoring just slightly higher (Anglo mean: 3.71; African-American mean: 3.77). Results showed that there was no significant difference for motivational intensity between these two groups ($p = .73$).

Research Questions

The following research questions were addressed in this study:

1. How motivated are Anglo students to study Spanish in the Southwest U.S.?

2. What attitudes do Anglo students of Spanish have toward the Spanish language and culture and Spanish speakers, particularly the local (immigrant) community?
3. What is the relationship between Anglo students' intensity of motivation and their attitudes toward the Spanish language and Spanish speakers?
4. How does Anglo students' intensity of motivation compare across the first four levels of required Spanish-language study?
5. How do Anglo students' attitudes compare across the first four levels of required Spanish-language study?
6. What reasons, or motivational orientations, do Anglo students have for studying Spanish?
7. What is the relationship between Anglo students' motivational orientations and their Motivation Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers?

Data Analysis

Quantitative data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16.

1. For the research question: *How motivated are Anglo students to study Spanish in the Southwest U.S.?,* detailed descriptive statistics were calculated for the motivational intensity scale: frequencies, means, and standard deviations for the overall motivational intensity score as well as for individual items.
2. For the research question: *What attitudes do Anglo students of Spanish have toward the Spanish language and culture and Spanish speakers, particularly the*

local (immigrant) community?, detailed descriptive statistics (frequencies, means, standard deviations) were also calculated for the attitude scale and for individual items.

3. For the research question: *What is the relationship between Anglo students' intensity of motivation and their attitudes toward Spanish language and Spanish speakers?* a Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated.
4. For the next two research questions: *How does Anglo students' intensity of motivation compare across the first four levels of required Spanish-language study*? and also *How do Anglo students' attitudes compare across the first four levels of required Spanish-language study?*: a MANOVA (multivariate general linear model) was run to compare the means for the two measures across the four levels of Spanish.
5. For the research question: *What reasons, or motivational orientations, do Anglo students have for studying Spanish?* detailed descriptive statistics were calculated for the orientation scales: frequencies, means, and standard deviations for individual items and also for the average for each orientation.
6. For the research question: *What is the relationship between Anglo students' motivational orientations and their Motivation Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers?* a series of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficients were calculated.

CHAPTER 4

Results and Discussion

In this chapter, I present the results of statistical analyses conducted to address the research questions outlined in the previous chapter. I will also discuss the importance of the results in light of the theoretical framework and compare the present findings with those from previous related studies.

Data were gathered from 318 participants from four levels of Spanish study. Those participants who self-identified as being Anglo/White/Non-Hispanic, of which there were 204, were used in the analyses presented here. These analyses provide insight into the intensity of motivation of Anglos studying Spanish and into what attitudes they have toward Spanish and Spanish-speakers; analyses also explore the relationship between motivational intensity and attitude. Also addressed are the motivational orientations that participants have and how these orientations relate to motivational intensity and attitudes.

Descriptive Statistics from the IBQ

The Individual Background Questionnaire provided demographic information including age, ethnicity, current course, previous language study, information on native language and languages spoken by other family members. Much of this information was

previously presented in describing all participants in Chapter 3. Here I will present findings related to the 204 Anglo participants used in the analyses.

Of the 204 participants who self-identified as Anglo, 42% (n=86) were male and 58% (n= 118) were female. 23% (n= 47) were enrolled in the first semester course (SPN 506); 23% (n= 47) were enrolled in the second semester course (SPN 508k); 26% (n=53) were enrolled in the third semester course (SPN 312k); and 28% (n=57) were enrolled in the fourth semester course (SPN 312L). These data are summarized in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Anglo Breakdown by Gender and Course Level

Category		Value Label	Number	Percent
Gender	1	male	86	42%
	2	female	118	58%
Current course	1	506	47	23%
	2	508k	47	23%
	3	312k	53	26%
	4	312l	57	28%

Results and Discussion for Research Questions

Motivation

Research Question 1: *How motivated are Anglo students to study Spanish in the Southwest U.S.?*

To assess participants' Motivational Intensity, descriptive statistics for two scores were analyzed: the Motivational Intensity scale from the ModAMTB and the self-assessed motivation score included at the end of the IBQ. It was assumed that there would be a positive correlation between the participants' self-assessed motivation score and the average score from the motivational intensity scale on the ModAMTB. A Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated to determine to what degree these two scores were related. Although the correlation was fairly strong ($r = .76$) and significant at the $p= 0.01$ level, it was still interestingly low for two measures that should be strongly correlated. X and Y do not overlap entirely; in fact they only share 58% of the variance, suggesting that they measure different aspects of motivation. This correlation does suggest, however, that the Motivational Intensity measure items fairly accurately capture the degree of motivation students claim to have.

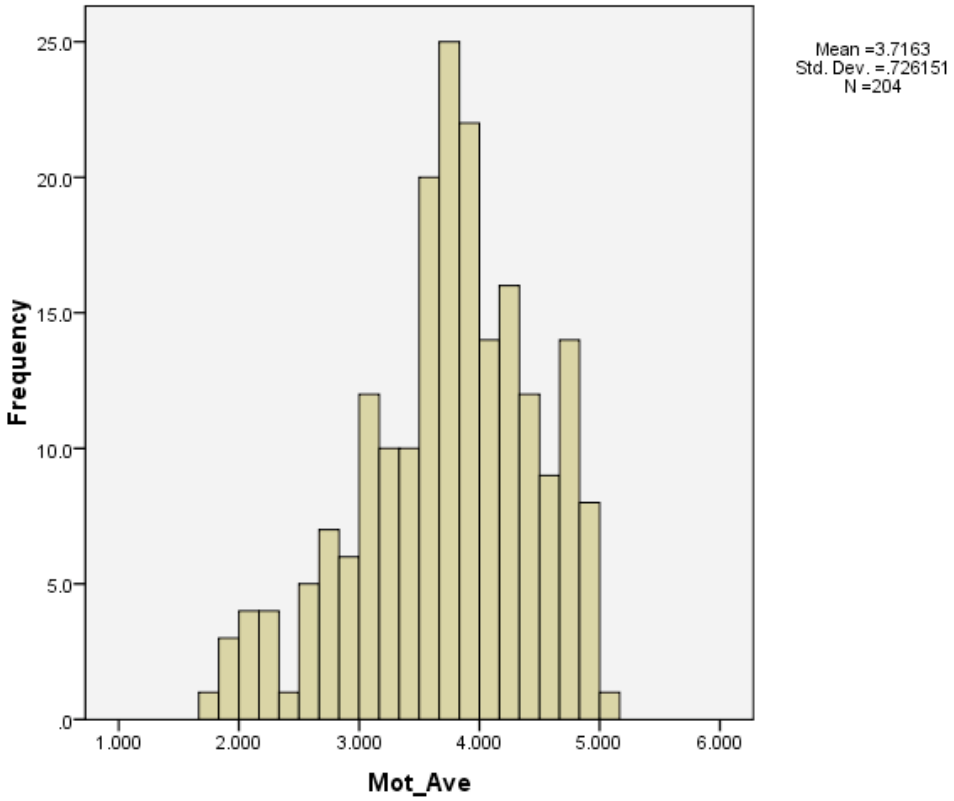
The Motivational Intensity measure consisted of 24 items to assess Spanish-learning enjoyment, effort expended, and the desire to learn Spanish. The average Motivational Intensity score for the 204 Anglo participants was 3.71 ($SD= 0.73$). This finding indicates that, on the whole, this group would be considered somewhat motivated. The lowest score ($n= 1$) was 1.79 and the highest score ($n= 1$) was 5.0. Just over 15% ($n= 31$) of the participants scored below 3.00, with fewer than half of those ($n= 13$) scoring below 2.50. This indicates that very few Anglo students of Spanish have what would be considered low levels of motivation. Indeed, nearly half (49%; $n= 99$) of all Anglo participants scored between 3.00 and 4.00, indicating that many Anglo students fall between neutral (neither motivated nor unmotivated) and somewhat motivated on the

scale. The remaining 36% (n= 74) scored in the somewhat motivated to very motivated range. See Table 4.2 and Graph 4.1 for Motivational Intensity means and frequencies.

Table 4.2: Frequencies and Percentages for Motivational Intensity Means

Range	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
1.5-2.0	4	2%
2.0-2.5	9	4%
2.5-3.0	18	9%
3.0-3.5	40	20%
3.5-4.0	59	29%
4.0-4.5	42	20%
4.5-5.0	32	16%
Total	204	100%

Graph 4.1: Frequency of Motivational Intensity Means



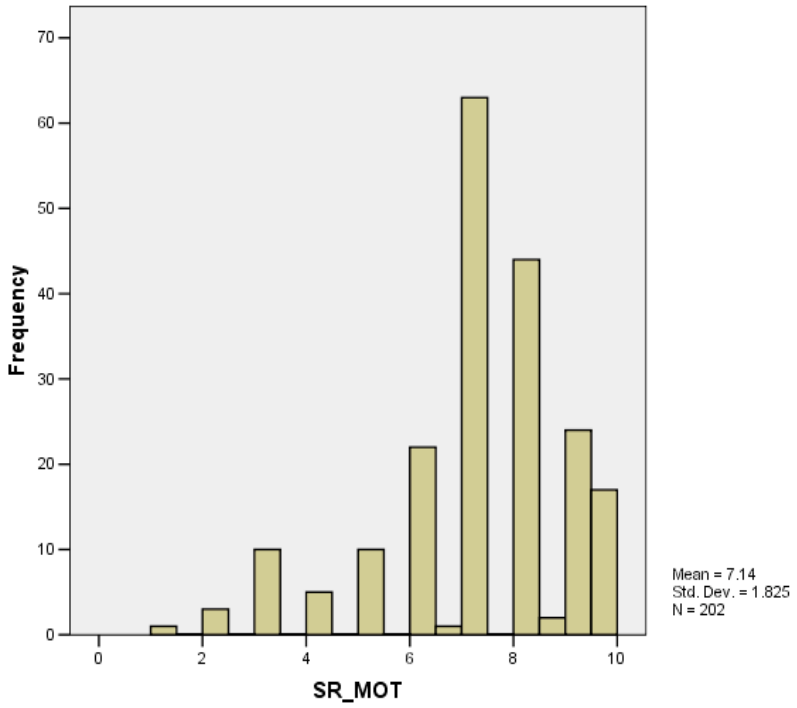
In addition to the Motivational Intensity measure, participants were asked at the end of the IBQ to rate their own level of motivation on a scale of 1 to 10, with 1 being the least motivated and 10 being the most motivated. The average self-assessed motivation score for 202 Anglo participants (2 scores were missing) was 7.14 (SD= 1.83). The lowest score for self-assessed motivation was 1 (n= 1) and the highest score was 10 (n=17). Similar to the motivational intensity measure, only a small percentage of participants rated themselves as being very unmotivated and less than 10% (n= 19) of the participants rated their motivation for learning Spanish below 5. The other 90% rated themselves somewhere between neither motivated nor unmotivated and very motivated.

More than half of the participants (n= 108; 53%) report being somewhat motivated and 21% (n=43) rated themselves a 9 or 10, indicating that they see themselves as being very motivated to learn Spanish. See Table 4.3 and Graph 4.2 for Self-assessed Motivation frequencies and percentages.

Table 4.3: Frequencies Percentages for Self-Assessed Motivation

Range	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
1.0-2.0	4	2%
3.0-4.0	15	7.5%
5.0-6.0	32	16%
7.0-8.0	108	53%
9.0-10	43	21%
Total	202	100

Graph 4.2: Self-Assessed Motivation Frequency



Responses to Specific Motivation Items

Many of the items on the Motivational Intensity scale where participants scored the highest involve what might be termed a desire for fluency. Items such as: *I would like to be fluent in Spanish* and *I wish I had begun studying Spanish at an early age*, had high average responses (4.61 and 4.40, respectively). Conversely, the individual items that scored the lowest involved amount of study time and desire to continue studying Spanish after fulfilling the language requirement. The item that scored the lowest overall was: *If it were up to me, I would spend all of my time studying Spanish* (M, 1.91; SD, 1.02). The second lowest (M, 2.87; SD, 1.4), was the item: *I plan on taking Spanish beyond the language requirement* (see Table 4.4 and 4.5 for highest and lowest means).

Table 4.4: Five Highest Motivation Item Means

***These means are for individual items, not the average for the 24-item measure.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Motivation Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
I would like to be fluent in Spanish. (30)	3	2	6	50	143	4.61	0.73
Studying Spanish is a waste of time. (44-RC)	1	8	11	65	119	4.44	0.81
I wish I had begun studying Spanish at an early age. (26)	1	8	16	63	116	4.40	0.85
I hate Spanish. (37-RC)	2	9	27	62	104	4.26	0.92
I would like to learn as much Spanish as possible. (29)	3	27	29	67	98	4.18	1.01

** On a five-point scale of increasing motivation: very unmotivated to very motivated*
*** RC represents items that were reverse coded.*

Table 4.5: Five Lowest Motivation Item Means

***These means are for individual items, not the 24-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Motivation Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
If it were up to me, I would spend all of my time studying Spanish. (27)	85	78	21	15	5	1.91	1.02
I plan on taking Spanish beyond the language requirement. (35)	42	52	40	31	39	2.87	1.41
I would take Spanish even if it weren't required. (36)	30	34	41	54	45	3.25	1.36
I can honestly say that I put my best effort into trying to learn Spanish. (34)	9	51	29	76	39	3.42	1.18
I would rather spend my time doing anything other than Spanish (42-RC)	12	29	54	78	31	3.43	1.09

** On a five-point scale of increasing motivation: very unmotivated to very motivated*
*** RC represents items that were reverse coded.*

Also noteworthy, was the observation that for many paired items, the positively-worded items and their reverse coded negatively-worded pair, participants tended to react more positively or score higher (i.e. more motivated) on the negatively-worded item. For

example, on the items: *I try to use Spanish outside of class whenever I have a chance*, 58% (n= 119) reported that they either somewhat agreed or strongly agreed. However, for the item: *I never try to use Spanish outside of class*, 80% (n= 163) reportedly somewhat disagreed or strongly disagreed (see Table 4.6 for examples). Some of the negative items seem to be more extreme (i.e. *never* versus *whenever I have a chance*) and this may indicate that there is something about the wording of the item against which participants reacted.

Table 4.6: Positive-Negative Paired Items

***These means are for individual items, not the 24-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Motivation Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
I try to use Spanish outside of class whenever I have a chance. (33)	11	35	39	91	28	3.44	1.09
I never try to use Spanish outside of class. (45-RC)	4	14	23	103	60	3.99	1.04
I would take Spanish even if it weren't required. (36)	30	34	41	54	45	3.25	1.36
If there were no language requirement, I would never have taken Spanish (48-RC)	23	31	27	60	63	3.53	1.36
I plan on taking Spanish classes beyond the language requirement. (35)	42	52	40	31	39	2.87	1.41
When I finish the language requirement, I will quit studying Spanish because I am not interested in it. (47-RC)	14	17	42	67	64	3.74	1.36

** On a five-point scale of increasing motivation: very unmotivated to very motivated*
*** RC represents items that were reverse coded.*

Discussion

Overall, participants generally scored in the moderately motivated range. The average scores for Motivational Intensity and for self-rated motivation were perhaps somewhat higher than anticipated. It is encouraging that very few students admitted having very low levels of motivation: there were only a few participants who seem to be somewhat unmotivated, and none reported being highly unmotivated. It was suggested earlier that amotivation may be an applicable term for this study, but that does not seem to be the case. On the other hand, a good number of students claimed to have very high levels of motivation. These numbers seem generally positive which may be interpreted as good news. However, the fact that a large number of participants scored right around the center on many items, not necessarily unmotivated but not motivated either, may raise the concern that students are somewhat apathetic or generally lacking in strong feelings about learning Spanish. In addition, since the correlation between Motivational Intensity and social desirability was weak, it can be presumed that participants are not trying to be perceived as more motivated than they are.

Participants consistently responded quite positively to many items on the Motivational Intensity measure, especially regarding enjoyment of the language. Over 75% of participants agreed that Spanish is a really great language and that they wanted to learn as much Spanish as possible, that they would like to be fluent and learn enough Spanish that it became second nature. Nearly 90% of participants wished they had begun studying Spanish at an earlier age. More than 75% of participants strongly disagreed that Spanish was a waste of time and that it was not an important goal. Participants generally agreed that they liked Spanish and that they would like to be fluent.

Participants were also generally positive in their responses concerning the amount of effort they expend. It is not a surprise that 80% of participants overwhelmingly disagreed that they would like to spend all their time studying Spanish, this item may be a little extreme. They responded more favorably on other effort-related items. For example, nearly 70% indicated that they worked hard even when they disliked what they were doing and over 70% disagreed that they did the bare minimum to get by. Over half of the participants, 56%, agreed that they put forth their best effort. Over half of the participants also indicated that they tried to use Spanish outside of class whenever possible. It may be the case, however, that desired grades are an important factor in how much effort students are willing to expend rather than motivation to learn the language.

Participants were generally not as enthusiastic or consistent in responding to items related to the effort involved in studying beyond the requirement. Nearly half of the participants, 46%, indicated that they did not plan on taking Spanish beyond the requirement, though 60% disagreed that they would quit because they weren't interested in it. What this seems to suggest is that though participants do not plan to continue studying Spanish, it is not for lack of interest. In addition, 48% of participants agreed that they would have taken Spanish even if it hadn't been required, 60% disagreed that if there were no requirement they would never have taken Spanish. This may indicate that students would see the value in studying some Spanish even if there were no requirement, but perhaps they would take fewer classes than the requirement stipulates.

What was interesting in examining the individual items from the measure was the sense that many students seem to be interested in the prize, i.e. fluency in Spanish, but don't necessarily seem to be willing to put in the effort required. There seems to be a

contradiction inherent in simultaneously wanting to be fluent in Spanish, while planning not to continue taking Spanish classes after fulfilling the requirement; in wanting to learn as much Spanish as possible, yet to admitting that they do not put their best efforts into learning Spanish; in claiming that they wish they had begun studying Spanish at an earlier age, and simultaneously claiming that they would not take Spanish if it were not required. However, this may not be unique to students of Spanish; it may be the case for students in other languages as well.

Gardner, Masgoret, Tennant, and Mihic (2004) emphasize that the motivation construct of the socio-educational model consists of three components: effort, desire to learn the language, and feelings about learning the language. They indicate:

> a focus on only one of them would not adequately characterize a motivated individual. Thus students might exert effort in class because of many factors (such as to get a good grade) but not really want to become proficient in the language, or they might want to learn the language but be unwilling to expend the effort. A student who displays all three attributes, however, can be said to be motivated (4).

From analyzing the individual Motivational Intensity items above, it is clear that participants would like to be proficient in the language. Although participants here were moderately motivated on the desire to learn the language, they scored slightly lower on the effort items indicating that they are not necessarily as willing to expend the effort, neither in their current course nor in taking additional courses, that would help them achieve the desired proficiency. According to Gardner et al (2004), it seems to be the case that effort may be a missing component here that might not allow for considering these participants truly motivated.

Maehr (1986) who explores the concept of motivation from the point of view of personal investment, suggests that we need to "examine more closely the way individuals choose to invest themselves and then ask what it is about the task that may preclude or discourage them from investing time, talent, or energy in this particular context" (7). This ties in to Peirce's (1995) suggestion that investment is a more accurate term for motivation. It is her position that "the return on the investment must be seen as commensurate with the effort expended on learning the second language" (17). Although results show that participants here are moderately motivated, there does seem to be something about the task of language learning, as Maehr suggests, that discourages them from investing the time and energy required. It may be that the effort piece is missing for many of these participants precisely because they do not see the return on the investment as valuable enough.

Participants here generally do not have very low levels of motivation. However, because second language theorists who study motivation consider it to be "the engine that drives the system" (MacIntyre, 2007), we cannot underestimate its importance. If the goal of language teachers is to help students develop real linguistic proficiency, communicative competence and linguistic self-confidence, then a real consideration of students' levels of motivation is essential. Since there is not much in previous literature to which to compare these participants in this context, it is difficult to gauge what might be considered sufficient motivational intensity: the motivational threshold that once crossed would point to students motivated enough that they plan on continuing to study the language. Considering the number of participants here not planning on taking

Spanish courses beyond the requirement, it is clear that there is still work to be done in motivating students.

Attitudes

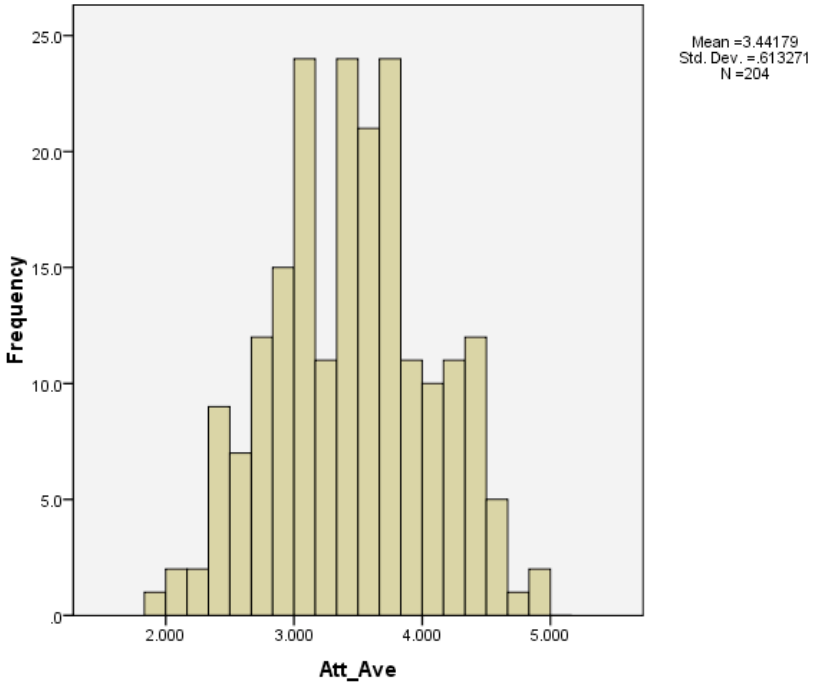
Research Question 2: *What attitudes do Anglo students of Spanish have toward the Spanish language and culture and Spanish speakers, particularly the local (immigrant) community?*

To assess Anglo participants' attitudes toward the Spanish language and Spanish speakers, I first looked at the average score on the measure of Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers of the ModAMTB. The mean attitude score for the 204 Anglo participants was 3.44 (SD= 0.61), suggesting that as a group, Anglos have attitudes that fall between neutral (neither positive nor negative) and somewhat positive. The lowest score (n= 1) was 1.96 and the highest score (n= 1) was 4.96. Approximately 23.5% (n= 48) scored below 3.00, most of these between 1.96 and 2.5 and indicating that nearly a fourth of all Anglo participants scored as having attitudes in the somewhat negative range. The largest percentage, 56.5% (n= 115) scored between 3.00-neither positive nor negative and 4.0-somewhat positive. The remaining 20% (n= 41) scored in the somewhat positive to very positive range, only 4% (n= 8) scoring between 4.5 and 5.0, what would be considered as having very positive attitudes. See Table 4.7 and Graph 4.3 for Attitude means.

Table 4.7: Frequencies and Percentages for Attitude Means

Range	Number of Participants	Percentage of Participants
1.5-2.0	1	0.5%
2.0-2.5	13	6%
2.5-3.0	34	17%
3.0-3.5	59	29%
3.5-4.0	56	27.5%
4.0-4.5	33	16%
4.5-5.0	8	4%
Total	204	100%

Graph 4.3: Frequency of Attitude Means



Responses to Specific Attitude Items

On the measure Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, the items which received the highest average scores, indicating the most positive response (ranging between 4.00 and 4.30), were items which were worded negatively. The item receiving the most positive average score (M=4.29), was: *The more I learn about Hispanics, the less I like them*. Other high scoring attitude items: *Hispanic culture is a real threat to our national unity* (M= 4.20) and *The Spanish language is a real threat to our national unity*, (M= 4.11) indicate that participants do not consider the presence of Hispanic cultures or the presence of the Spanish language to be necessarily problematic. Participants also

generally agreed that Hispanics should not have to give up their cultural identity (M=4.2). The five highest Attitude means are shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: Five Highest Attitude Item Means

***These means are for individual items, not the 24-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Attitude Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
The more I learn about Hispanics, the less I like them. (13-RC)	0	5	31	67	101	4.29	0.81
Spanish is unpleasant to the ear. (20-RC)	2	7	29	58	108	4.29	0.90
Hispanics should not try to maintain their cultural identity. (14-RC)	3	9	23	79	90	4.20	0.91
Hispanic culture is a real threat to our national unity. (15-RC)	1	11	39	60	93	4.14	0.94
The Spanish language is a real threat to our national unity. (16-RC)	1	13	36	67	87	4.11	0.95

** On a five-point scale from very negative attitudes to very positive attitudes.*
*** RC represents items that were reverse coded.*

Interestingly, though participants generally disagreed that they like Hispanics less as they got to know more of them, the response was not nearly as positive for a similar non-negatively worded item, *I would like to get to know more Hispanics in my community*: 52 % (N= 106) reported a neutral stance for this item, that they neither agreed nor disagreed and 14% responded either "somewhat disagree" (N= 22) or "strongly disagree", (N= 6). Also noteworthy was the comparison between participants' attitudes toward the dominant English-speaking culture needing to have an understanding of Hispanic culture versus the needing to learn Spanish. For the item: *All Americans should have a better understanding of Hispanic culture*, only 4% strongly disagreed (N=8) and 13% somewhat disagreed (N=27). Whereas for a similar item: *Because of the*

large number of Spanish speakers in the Southwestern U. S., all students in Texas should learn Spanish, 13% strongly disagreed (N=27) and another 24% somewhat disagreed (N=49). This item received one of the lowest, most negative averages. See Table 4.9 and 4.10 for item comparisons.

Table 4.9: Hispanic Items Comparison

***These means are for individual items, not the 24-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Attitude Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
The more I learn about Hispanics, the less I like them. (13-RC)	0	5	31	67	101	4.29	0.81
I would like to get to know more Hispanics in my community. (4)	6	22	106	55	15	3.25	0.86

** On a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive.*
*** RC represents items that were reverse coded.*

Table 4.10: Culture/Language Items Comparison

***These means are for individual items, not the 24-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Attitude Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
All Americans should have a better understanding of Hispanic culture. (8)	8	27	52	86	31	3.51	1.03
Because of the large number of Spanish speakers in the Southwestern U.S., all students in Texas should learn Spanish. (5)	27	49	37	69	22	3.05	0.86

** On a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive..*
*** RC represents items that were reverse coded.*

The lowest individual means on the measure of Attitudes, shown in Table 4.11, were items dealing with attitudes towards Spanish speakers' need or willingness to learn English, and also several items concerning undocumented immigrants. The item that received the lowest mean overall, representing the least positive attitude, was: *Spanish-speakers should have to learn English if they intend to live in the U.S.* (M= 2.15). 32% of participants (n= 66) reported that they strongly agreed with this statement and 41% (n= 83) reported that they somewhat agree. Just over 10% scored in the positive range on this item: N= 11 reported that they strongly disagreed and N= 20 reportedly somewhat disagreed. Another item dealing with language issues that had a low average score was the item: *English-speakers should not need to learn Spanish to accommodate Spanish-speakers* (M= 2.83).

Table 4.11: Five Lowest Attitude Item Means

***These means are for individual items, not the 24-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Attitude Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
Spanish speakers should have to learn English if they intend to live in the U.S. (18-RC)	66	83	24	20	11	2.15	1.14
Undocumented immigrants are a drain on our economy. (21-RC)	38	59	53	30	24	2.72	1.26
Undocumented immigrants should not be allowed to stay in this country. (22-RC)	42	58	36	43	25	2.76	1.33
English speakers should not need to learn Spanish to accommodate Spanish speakers. (24-RC)	29	58	54	45	18	2.83	1.19
Because of the large number of Spanish speakers in the Southwestern U.S., all students in TX should learn Spanish. (5)	27	49	37	69	22	3.05	1.24
Most Hispanics in Texas are so friendly and easy to get along with that we are fortunate to have them. (2)	7	47	90	48	12	3.05	0.92

** On a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive.*
*** RC represents items that were reverse coded.*

Discussion

The average score for Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers (M=3.44) was slightly lower than the Motivational Intensity average (M=3.71). Similar to the Motivational Intensity scores, the average scores for the Attitudes measure were slightly higher than earlier expectations might have suggested. A few participants seem to have somewhat negative attitudes, but none were found to have very negative attitudes. It should be noted, however, that fewer participants were found to have very positive

attitudes: only 8 scored in the very positive range for Attitudes whereas 32 participants scored as very highly motivated on the Motivation Intensity measure.

Although Attitude scores were generally positive, they were fairly close to neutral. It may be relevant that participants generally scored in the center on many of the Attitude items; in fact 50% of participants marked "3" as their answer for some items, such as the item describing Hispanics in Texas as sociable, warm-hearted, and creative and also the item asking participants if they would like to get to know more Hispanics. Nearly 50% responded in a neutral manner on the item stating that Hispanics are so friendly that Texas is fortunate to have them. This may indicate a sense of apathy or indecision, or it may indicate that participants generally lack strong feelings on some of the attitudes expressed.

Though participants responded neutrally for several items, they also responded very positively on others. For example, the highest-scoring item in which 50% of participants (n= 101) reported that they strongly disagreed that they liked Hispanics less, the more they learned about them, and not even one participant reported strongly agreeing with this item. Participants also responded quite positively overall to items related to Hispanic culture: 83% believed that Hispanics should be able to maintain their culture and 75 % disagreed that Hispanic culture or the Spanish language was a threat to national unity or that Hispanic culture has had a negative impact on the U.S.

For some items on the Attitude measure, participants' responses were distributed a little more evenly; many of these were the items dealing with language accommodation and undocumented immigrants that received lower average scores. For example, nearly

50 % of participants agreed that undocumented immigrants were a drain on our economy and that undocumented immigrants should not be able to stay in the U.S., while only 26% and 38%, respectively, disagreed with these items. Nearly as many, 48%, agreed that undocumented immigrants contributed to the economy while 25% disagreed. More than half, 56%, supported programs to help undocumented immigrants become citizens and disagreed that the U.S. should limit the number of Spanish-speakers because there were already so many.

Participants in this study did seem a little wary of the expectation that English-speakers should learn Spanish to accommodate Spanish-speakers: 43% of participants agreed that English-speakers should not have to learn Spanish to accommodate Spanish-speakers, and 31% disagreed. Also related to language, 22% agreed that most Spanish-speakers don't want to learn English and 37% disagreed with this item. The lowest average, as mentioned above, was for the item concerning whether Spanish speakers should have to learn English if they want to live in the U.S.; 73% of participants agreed that they should and only 15% disagreed.

Because I am looking at a specific population of students in a specific socio-cultural setting and even several specific attitudes towards Spanish and Spanish-speakers that have not been used in previous measures, there is not much in the literature to which I can compare these results.

Other Indicators of Attitude: Spain versus Mexico

In addition to the measure for Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers from the ModAMTB, there were several other items that might be considered indicators of attitude, especially toward local populations of Spanish-speakers. Findings from at least one previous cited study (Nocon, 1995), suggested that some students might show preference for Spain over Mexico; Spaniards over Mexicans; and Peninsular Spanish over Mexican Spanish. To determine if such a preference existed in the population of this study, I looked at the Language Comparison-Social Distance Scale. The first section asked participants how they felt about Spanish in comparison with several other languages: Arabic, French, Chinese, and Italian. There were four items on the Language Comparison section that compared participants' reactions to several different countries, among them Spain and Mexico. The four items are as follows:

How much would you like to travel to these countries?

How rich and developed do you think these countries are?

How important a role do you think these countries play in the world?

How much do you like the people from these countries?

An average of the scores from the four items, for Spain and Mexico, was calculated. The mean for Spain was 3.98 (SD= .56) and for Mexico, 3.32 (SD= .72). A paired samples T-test was computed to determine if there was a difference in average scores between the two countries. Results show that there is a significant difference ($p<$

.001) between how participants responded to items for the two different Spanish-speaking countries. See Table 4.12 for paired-samples T-test results.

Table 4.12: Results for Paired Samples Test for Spain and Mexico

	Mean	S. D.	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig.
SP ave.–MX ave.	.66042	.60670	.04290	15.394	199	.000

** p< .05, (2-tailed)*

Mexico fared worse than Spain on all four items. The average desire to travel to Spain was 4.62 while the average desire to travel to Mexico was 3.83. 73% (N=146) of participants reported that they would like very much to travel to Spain and only one participant reported not wanting to travel to Spain at all. On the other hand, 41% (N= 84) reported very much wanting to travel to Mexico and 6% (N=12) reported not wanting to travel to Mexico at all. Participants overwhelming rated Spain as more rich and developed than Mexico (SP= 4.10; MX= 2.67). Spain was also rated more favorably in terms of world importance (SP = 3.29; MX = 3.14) and in terms of likeability of its people (SP= 3.89; MX= 3.62). This information is detailed in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Spain-Mexico Means and Frequencies

		Frequency of item answer						
Item	**Country**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
How much would you like to travel to these countries?	Spain	1	2	15	36	146	4.62	0.71
	Mexico	12	21	40	43	84	3.83	1.25
How rich and developed do you think these countries are?	Spain	1	1	35	102	60	4.10	0.73
	Mexico	11	73	89	23	3	2.67	0.81
How important a role do you think these countries play in the world?	Spain	4	34	86	50	25	3.29	0.96
	Mexico	10	44	77	45	23	3.14	1.05
How much do you like the people from these countries?	Spain	3	1	65	72	55	3.89	0.87
	Mexico	7	14	70	61	44	3.62	1.02

**On a 5-point scale from not at all to very much; 1-most negative, 5-most positive.*

Also interesting to note is how Mexico and Spain compared to the other countries included on the measure. For the item rating desire to travel to each country, Mexico came in fourth, before Saudi Arabia and China; all three European countries ranked quite high on this item. For the item rating how rich and developed these countries are, Mexico came in last. Mexico tied with Italy for last place in the perception of how important a role these countries play in the world. Both Spain and Italy scored higher than Mexico for the item asking how much participants liked people from these countries. But Mexico scored higher than Saudi Arabia and China, and surprisingly, France. Country comparison data are shown in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Means by Country

	SP	MX	SA	FR	CH	IT
How much would you like to travel to these countries?	4.62	3.83	2.84	4.26	3.44	4.65
How rich and developed do you think these countries are?	4.10	2.67	3.16	4.27	3.89	4.07
How important a role do you think these countries play in the world?	3.29	3.14	4.32	3.42	4.74	3.14
How much do you like the people from these countries?	3.89	3.62	3.09	3.36	3.32	3.78

**On a 5-point scale from not at all to very much; 1-most negative, 5-most positive.*

Discussion

On one hand, it may be understandable that participants would rank Spain higher than Mexico for certain items. Spain has experienced significant economic growth over the past few decades. Spain is, objectively speaking, a more developed and wealthier nation than Mexico if we consider widely available indices such as Gross National Income per capita: this figure for Spain ($29,450) is almost three times that of Mexico ($8,340). Another example is the Human Development Index (HDI), based on life expectancy, educational attainment, and income where Spain ranked 13th in the world whereas Mexico ranked 52nd.[3]

In addition, there are several reasons why Spain may have scored higher than Mexico for the travel item. Spain has the allure of being a European country and so may have scored higher than Mexico, at least in part, for this reason. In addition, the

[3] Data from UN Data website (data.un.org) GNI (2007) HDI (2005).

headlines concerning Mexico in the year prior to February, 2009, when data for this study were collected, had been grim: replete with drug violence, including a large number of drug-related murders, and kidnappings. In fact, just weeks after data were collected, the U.S. State Department and University of Texas officials sent out warnings about travel to Mexico and strongly recommended that students did not travel there for the upcoming spring break. Although participants may not have been thinking about spring break travel plans to Spain or Mexico in responding to this item, these travel precautions and the news headlines may have played a role in their lack of enthusiasm for traveling to Mexico.

What is interesting, however, is that for participants here, not only did Mexico score lower than Spain, but it ranked the lowest, lower than all of the other countries for this item. It is impossible to know what criteria participants used to assign a number for each country, however, based on the indices mentioned above Mexico ranks higher than China ($2,360) in income per capita and higher than both China and Saudi Arabia for the HDI. Mexico also ranks higher than Saudi Arabia for Gross Domestic Product, defined as the market value of all final goods and services for a given year as reported by the International Monetary Fund[4].

Participants ranked China and Saudi Arabia high on the global importance item: China, perhaps because of its economic potential and Saudi Arabia presumably because of oil and its importance in the Middle East. What is intriguing in the present results is why these participants ranked Mexico as last. According to the Bureau of Transportation

[4] Reported online at: http://www.imf.org

Statistics[5], five countries account for over half of international trade with the U.S.; Mexico is second, after Canada, and has consistently increased in importance over the last 30-40 years. It is hard to objectively rank a country's global importance based on political clout in the United Nations, but based on the importance of trade with the U.S., Mexico should presumably have ranked higher on this item. What is perhaps most important to consider is that, despite objective indices to the contrary, these participants' perceptions of Mexico are that it is poor and undeveloped and relatively unimportant from a global perspective.

In comparison to Spain, the other Spanish-speaking country included, Mexico scored lower on all items. Most of these students have grown up within a day's drive to Mexico and they have most likely had much more contact with people from Mexico than from Spain. Yet, participants responded more favorably for traveling to Spain and seemed to generally like Spaniards over Mexicans.[6] It would seem that these participants, like those in Nocon's (1995) study, have at least a slight tendency "to separate the local target community, in this case, Mexicans, from the conceptualized 'Spanish speaker'" (48). These results appear to confirm Nocon's findings that this separation allows for a kind of "compartmentalization" which permitted students to "study a language divorced from its local speakers" (48).

[5] Reported online at: http://www.bts.gov
[6] Several participants refused to answer this item.

Social Distance

Also to determine if there were differences in attitudes toward a European Spanish-speaking population versus a Mexican Spanish-speaking population, responses for several items from the Bogardus Social Distance scale were compared. Because of how I adapted this section to fit with the rest of the scale, it was difficult to come to a composite score. Therefore, I examined the responses for three of the items: the two most extreme items, willingness to accept people from these countries by marriage and desire to exclude them from the U.S.; and also willingness to accept people from these countries as citizens of the U.S. Data from 200 participants were analyzed here; 4 were missing. See Table 4.15 and 4.16 and 4.17 for item answer frequencies and means.

Table 4.15: Social Distance Item 1: *How much would you like to accept people from these countries as relatives by marriage?*

Response Frequency	Spain	Mexico	Saudi Arabia	France	China	Italy
1	9	19	37	10	34	5
2	6	13	32	12	23	8
3	47	55	42	51	52	46
4	47	38	28	52	32	52
5	90	74	60	74	58	88
Mean	4.02	3.68	3.21	3.84	3.29	4.06
SD	1.11	1.29	1.49	1.14	1.43	1.03

**On a scale of 1-5: 1-not at all; 2-not really; 3-so-so; 4 quite a lot; 5-very much*

Table 4.16: Social Distance Item 4: *How much would you like to accept people from these countries as citizens?*

Response Frequency	Spain	Mexico	Saudi Arabia	France	China	Italy
1	5	8	15	6	13	6
2	2	12	11	1	6	1
3	40	47	48	44	42	43
4	46	38	34	48	43	47
5	107	95	92	101	96	103
Mean	4.24	4.00	3.89	4.19	4.02	4.20
SD	0.97	1.15	0.99	1.26	1.18	0.99

**On a scale of 1-5: 1-not at all; 2-not really; 3-so-so; 4 quite a lot; 5-very much*

Table 4.17: Social Distance Item 6: *How much would you like to exclude people from these countries from the U.S.?*

Response Frequency	Spain	Mexico	Saudi Arabia	France	China	Italy
1	150	142	129	146	144	150
2	38	35	37	33	34	37
3	7	14	18	11	15	8
4	2	6	8	4	2	2
5	1	1	6	4	3	1
Mean	1.31	1.43	1.61	1.42	1.41	1.32
SD	0.64	0.79	1.02	0.85	0.80	0.65

**On a scale of 1-5: 1-not at all; 2-not really; 3-so-so; 4 quite a lot; 5-very much*

These results indicate that participants showed a slight preference for Spain over Mexico in accepting people from these countries for marriage. Spain received the highest willingness-to-marry ratings, followed by Italy, France and then Mexico. Mexico had more positive results than China and Saudi Arabia. Similarly for willingness to accept as citizens, participants showed a slight preference for European countries: Spain rated the highest followed by Italy and France. Mexico rated more similarly to China and Saudi Arabia. The very negative responses, "not at all" and "not really", are quite low (i.e. 10%; N=20 for Mexico) but more than twice the number as for Spain or Italy (N= 7 for both). Participants were not as willing to exclude people from the U.S. altogether. 75% of participants (N= 150) reported not wanting to exclude people from Spain and Italy at all; the percentage for Mexico was just slightly lower (71%; N= 142). On the negative side, only 3 participants reported wanting "very much" or "quite a lot" to exclude people from Spain or Italy. While the numbers for Mexico were still quite low (N=7), they were more than twice the number for Spain.

Discussion

Thus it appears that these students, like those in Nocon's (1995) study, also displayed a slight preference for a more idealized Spanish speaker. Nocon found that "the word 'Mexican,' in all its connotations, is interpreted differently than the more generalized term 'Spanish speaker.' It is perceived less positively" (60). She indicates that these findings suggest "social distancing from the 'known other' in favor of what appears to be a more positive generalized stereotype" (48). It would seem that for

participants here, there is also a slight difference to how they perceive Mexico in comparison to what they seem to consider a more positive Spanish-speaking ideal.

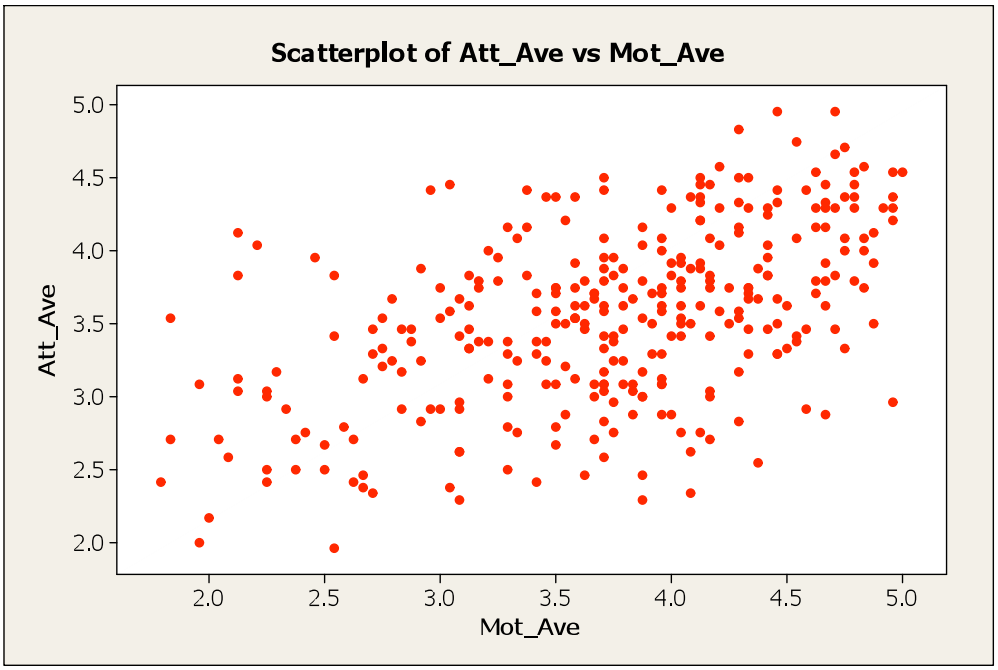
Overall the scores seem to indicate that there are generally low levels of social distance in this group of learners. Bogardus' studies, conducted at ten-year intervals found that social distance scores were decreasing over time (reported in Nix, 1993). It has also been observed, however, that social distance seems to be a function of world events (e.g. Japan scored high for social distance at the end of World War II). The results here seem consistent with the notion that social distance may be related to world events: Saudi Arabia, for example, received some of the lowest scores, suggesting higher levels of social distance, perhaps because of the fear that, as a Muslim country in the Middle East, there is some association with terrorism. Mexico and China also scored slightly lower, suggesting slightly higher levels of social distance, than some of the European countries: China, perhaps because of unease due to its ever-increasing economic growth and Mexico, most likely due to the seemingly constant political battles regarding immigration issues. Some participants in the present study may have reported slightly more negative feelings about Mexico and people from Mexico because of some of these negative issues.

The Relationship between Motivation and Attitude

Research Question 3: *What is the relationship between Anglo students' level of motivation and their attitudes toward Spanish language and Spanish speakers?*

To determine if, and to what extent, there was a relationship between participants' scores on the two major indices of the ModAMTB, Motivational Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, a Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficient was calculated (see Graph 4.4 for correlation scatterplot.) The correlation was found to be moderate and significant ($r = .55$; $p < .001$). The results indicate a tendency for more intensely motivated students to have more positive attitudes towards the Spanish language and Spanish speakers. Similarly on the other side of the scale, less intensely motivated students would be more likely to have more negative attitudes.

Graph 4.4: Scatterplot for Motivational Intensity and Attitude Correlation



Discussion

This finding is consistent with findings of previous studies, such as the seminal works of Gardner and Lambert (1972) that have found that attitudes were, to some degree, associated with levels of motivation. Though there are, no doubt, exceptions of participants here with very positive attitudes and very low motivation, or with very high motivation and very negative attitudes, findings support that more positive attitudes are associated with high levels of motivation. Though correlation is not causation, findings do seem to suggest that promoting positive attitudes will help increase levels of motivation, or the reverse, that finding ways to further motivate students will foster more positive attitudes.

Regarding the importance of motivation, Mantle-Bromley (1995) claimed that "motivation is a major problem in achieving greater numbers of proficient speakers of second languages" (373). Dörnyei (1995) has similarly argued that the importance of motivation surpasses all other variables involved in language learning. He explains: "Without sufficient motivation, even individuals with the most remarkable abilities cannot accomplish long-term goals, and neither are appropriate curricula and good teaching enough on their own to ensure student achievement" (65).

Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) looked at predictors of behavior and found that what they termed "Integrativeness:" attitudes toward the language of choice and the corresponding target language group, "was the single most important factor in shaping the students' L2 motivated behavior" (22). Ramage (1990) also found a positive correlation between an interest in the culture of the second language and the intention of

taking more language classes. What this research would suggest is that students' attitudes toward the target language, the target culture, and the speakers of that language, in large part determine how much effort is expended in language learning and how much time students are willing to spend in the endeavor. To this effect, Mantle-Bromley argued: "If, as research and theory suggest, attitudes influence the efforts that students expend to learn another language, then language teachers need a clear understanding of attitudes and attitude-change theory in order to address these issues in the classroom" (373).

To connect this with the present study, it would seem that the findings here support previous research that attitudes do indeed affect levels of motivation. Participants here, as shown earlier, reported moderate levels of motivation and somewhat neutral attitudes. Participants also scored lower on items related to effort and toward plans for continuing with Spanish study after completing the requirement. If, as previous research suggests, high levels of motivation and positive attitudes are necessary for students to commit the time and energy to achieve language goals, then there is clearly room for improvement in this population of Spanish students.

The Effect of Current Course on Motivational Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers

Research Question 4: *How does Anglo students' intensity of motivation compare across the first four levels of required Spanish-language study?*

Research Question 5: *How do Anglo students' attitudes compare across the first four levels of required Spanish-language study?*

In order to compare how participants scored across the four course levels on the main measures: Motivational Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, a MANOVA (or multivariate general linear model) was conducted. The means for each course level on the Motivational Intensity measure ranged between 3.5 and 4.0, indicating that all levels scored in the somewhat motivated range. The first semester (506) and second semester (508k) had very similar means (3.62 and 3.69 respectively). The third semester scored the lowest for Motivational Intensity with a mean of 3.53. The fourth semester, the last course in fulfilling the language requirement resulted in the highest mean, 3.92. See Table 4.18 for Motivational Intensity means by course level.

Table 4.18: Motivational Intensity Means by Course Level

Course Level	Average Motivation Score	SD
506	3.62	.711
508k	3.69	.748
312k	3.53	.709
312L	3.92	.726

Though there were differences in the means across the four levels, the results of the MANOVA with respect to Motivational Intensity showed that these differences were not significant (F= 2.447; p= .065). See Table 4.19 for MANOVA.

Table 4.19: MANOVA for Motivational Intensity and Attitudes by Course Level

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	Att_Ave	2.650[a]	3	.883	2.397	.069
	Mot_Ave	3.789[b]	3	1.263	2.447	.065

*p value set at .05

For the measure of Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, course levels averaged between 3.27 and 3.58, indicating that participants as a whole, scored slightly above neutral (neither positive nor negative) but not quite falling in the moderately positive range. The lowest average was the first semester (506) group with a mean of 3.27. Second and third semesters (508k and 312k) scored very similar averages, 3.47 and 3.42 respectively. The level scoring the highest on average was the fourth semester, with a mean of 3.58. This information is shown in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20: Attitude Means by Course Level

Course Level	Average Attitude Score	SD
506	3.27	0.60
508k	3.47	0.58
312k	3.42	0.56
312L	3.58	0.67

Though there were differences in group means for Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, results from the MANOVA indicate that these differences were not significant (F= 2.397; p= .069). See Table 4.19 (above) for MANOVA results for the Attitude measure.

Discussion

The finding that the results for Motivational Intensity and Attitudes were stable across four semesters of language study may be of more importance than if there had been significant differences. For this research question, the issue is more about what our expectations are for motivational and attitudinal change. The question here is should it be expected that motivational intensity would change over time? Should we expect that more Spanish language instruction will increase motivational intensity? What does it mean that there is no significant difference as students advance? Should attitudes

improve with more exposure to Spanish language and culture? What does it mean that attitudes seem to generally remain constant?

It may be relevant to re-address, here, that all students do not necessarily begin the program in the first semester and continue all the way to the fourth. Depending on previous study and their scores on the placement exam, students may begin in the third or even fourth semester. It is not appropriate, therefore, to attribute an effect of this language program on students' motivational intensity and attitudes. Because this study is cross-sectional, it gives a glimpse into the level of motivation and the attitudes at each level of instruction. The lack of change in motivational intensity and attitudes may be attributable to the language program itself, or it may be due to factors associated with previous language-study experience, or to other unexamined factors. Regardless of the reason, however, data here show that all four levels scored very similarly on these measures.

Robinson-Stuart and Nocon (1996) make reference to "the prevalent assumption that language study itself will automatically lead to cross-cultural understanding […] this assumption is not supported by research" (432). In the present study, participants in four different levels of study score very similarly on the Attitude measure; this finding would seem to support that language study, in and of itself, is not enough to significantly change students' attitudes. Likewise, this study suggests that over time, there is not an increase in Motivational Intensity: in the effort expended or the desire to continue studying the language.

Although differences between levels were not statistically significant it may be of interest to note that participants in the fourth level (312L) had higher motivational

intensity and more positive attitudes than any other level. This last semester high, may be due to the joy of finishing with the language requirement, or it may be that some of the goals of language instruction are just beginning to take effect. While the last semester lift does not seem to translate into increased desire to continue language study, at least students finish on a slightly more positive note.

The Gender Factor

In the process of examining the data to determine what variables were important in understanding the Attitudes toward Spanish and Motivational Intensity of Anglo students, preliminary analyses revealed that although there were no significant results for differences in course level for these two measures, there were significant results for gender. For Motivational Intensity, male participants scored an average of 3.54, slightly above "neither motivated nor unmotivated," but not quite in the "somewhat motivated" range. Female participants scored an average of 3.85, very close to "somewhat motivated." For the measure of Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, both groups scored just below 3.5: female participants at 3.44 and males at 3.38, indicating both groups score slightly above neutral, "neither positive nor negative." See Tables 4.21 and 4.22 for measure means by gender.

Table 4.21: Motivational Intensity Means by Gender and Course Level

Gender	Course Level	# of Participants	Motivation Score	SD
Male	506	21	3.57	0.87
	508k	14	3.51	0.59
	312k	21	3.40	0.56
	312L	30	3.62	0.77
Male Total		**86**	**3.54**	**0.73**
Female	506	26	3.68	0.56
	508k	33	3.86	0.79
	312k	32	3.66	0.76
	312L	27	4.22	0.46
Female Total		**118**	**3.85**	**0.69**
ALL TOTAL		**204**	**3.71**	**0.73**

Table 4.22: Attitude Means by Gender and Course Level

Gender	Course Level	# of Participants	Attitude Score	SD
Male	506	21	3.28	0.73
	508k	14	3.39	0.39
	312k	21	3.48	0.54
	312L	30	3.38	0.69
Male Total		**86**	**3.38**	**0.62**
Female	506	26	3.26	0.49
	508k	33	3.55	0.65
	312k	32	3.36	0.57
	312L	27	3.78	0.58
Female Total		**118**	**3.49**	**0.60**
ALL TOTAL		**204**	**3.44**	**0.61**

Statistical analyses show that for Motivational Intensity, results are significant (p= .001), indicating that women in this study are more motivated than men. For the Attitude measure however, results were not significant (p=.231). This suggests that men and women in this study do not differ substantially in terms of their attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers. See Table 4.23 for MANOVA results.

Table 4.23: MANOVA for Motivational Intensity and Attitudes by Gender

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	F-Value	P-Value
Gender	Attitudes	1.445	.231
	Motivational Intensity	10.454	.001

**p value set at .05*

Discussion

Gender differences in motivation-related measures, similar to the differences in the present study, have been noted in numerous studies regarding second language learning (Csizér & Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2002, Kissau, 2006; Williams, Burden, & Lanvers, 2002). Although gender differences among participants in this study were only found for Motivational Intensity, Williams, Burden, and Lanvers (2002) and Kissau (2006), both studies in adolescents learning French, found that girls scored higher than boys on almost all motivational and attitudinal measures. Williams, Burden, and Lanvers referring to girls' scores stated: "Not only did they convey a more positive set of attitudes toward language learning, but also demonstrated a more powerful sense of agency across a number of dimensions" (522). Kissau, in a study of French as a second language, found that "male students are characterized by less desire to learn French, a lower sense of integrative motivation and lower motivational intensity" (83).

Likewise, Dörnyei and Csizér (2002), in a longitudinal study of over 8000 school children, examining language choice and motivational components, found that girls outscored boys across the board on nearly all criterion measures. Later, examining the same data, Csizér and Dörnyei (2005) used complex statistical analyses to create

motivational profiles based on similarities in scoring patterns across all measures. They identified four clusters or profiles marked by level of motivation. They found that girls overwhelmingly occupied the highest motivational profiles and boys dominated the lower motivational clusters. Because female participants did not score significantly higher than males on the Attitude measure, the findings here only partially support this previous research. Though the gender difference in the present study was not found in both of the main variables, it is significant that a women scored significantly higher for Motivational Intensity, which supports previous findings in the literature that women are generally more motivated to learn languages.

Motivational Orientations

Research question 6: *What reasons, or motivational orientations, do Anglo students have for studying Spanish?*

The ModAMTB included 14 items regarding reasons for taking Spanish, often referred to as orientations in literature addressing language learning motivation. Twelve of the items were grouped into 3 different motivational orientations: instrumental, knowledge/status, and integrative. There were two individual items: one addressing the foreign language requirement and one addressing the perceived ease of learning Spanish. Of the three main motivational orientation scales, the instrumental orientation, reflecting the usefulness of knowing the language, received the highest average score, M= 3.98, indicating that students generally agreed that the usefulness of Spanish for travel or career was a good reason to study the language. The knowledge/status orientation

average was slightly lower, at 3.85, also indicating that knowing the Spanish language was somewhat important from an educational standpoint. The lowest average score was for the integrative orientation, at 3.15, suggesting that an interest in more inter-cultural contact, the desire to have a more personal connection with Spanish speakers and Hispanic cultures was not a reason seen as important as knowing the language for utilitarian purposes or for knowledge sake. See Table 4.24 for orientation means.

Table 4.24: Motivational Orientation Means

Orientation	Average	SD
Instrumental	3.98	0.69
Knowledge/Status	3.85	0.71
Integrative	3.15	0.88
Requirement (1 item-RC)	2.88	1.44

** On a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive.*

In addition to the three main four-item orientations, there was one item for what has been referred to as the Requirement Orientation, asking participants if they are only taking Spanish to fulfill the foreign language requirement. It was one of items that scored the lowest and therefore one of the most important orientation items, with 52% of participants either strongly agreeing or agreeing somewhat, that they were only taking Spanish to fulfill the requirement. The average was 2.88 (reverse-coded 1-negative; 5-positive), indicating that participants generally agreed that the language requirement was the main reason they were taking Spanish courses.

Responses to Specific Orientation Items

Of the 12 orientation items on the four main orientations, the item that received the most positive response was for travel: *I plan on traveling to Spanish-speaking countries*. The average for this item was 4.38; 55% of participants strongly agreed (N=112) and 33% somewhat agreed (N= 67) that this was one of their reasons for studying Spanish, while only 1% strongly disagreed (N=2). Other items that also received positive average responses were: *I want people to think I speak Spanish well* (M= 4.00); *Learning Spanish will give me a broader view of the world* (M=4.00); and *Knowing Spanish will have financial benefits for me* (M=3.96). See Table 4.25 for highest orientation item means.

Table 4.25: Highest Orientation Item Means

***These means are for individual items, not the 4-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Orientation Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
I plan on traveling to Spanish-speaking countries. (63)	2	5	18	67	112	4.38	0.83
I am learning Spanish to become a more educated person. *(65)*	5	10	24	76	89	4.15	0.98
I want people to think I speak Spanish well. (66)	1	13	38	85	67	4.00	0.90
Learning Spanish will give me a broader view of the world. (67)	5	12	37	75	75	4.00	1.01
Knowing Spanish will have financial benefits for me. (60)	3	12	33	99	57	3.96	0.90
If I learn Spanish, I will get a better job. *(61)*	4	15	48	86	51	3.81	0.96
I plan on using Spanish in my future career. *(62)*	7	18	48	70	61	3.78	1.08

** On a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive.*

On the other side of the spectrum, the item receiving the most negative response was for personal connection. The average response for the item: *I have a personal attachment to Spanish* was 2.85; 12% of participants strongly agreed (N=25) and 17% somewhat agreed (N= 35) that this was a reason for studying Spanish, while 15% strongly disagreed (N= 30) and 27% somewhat disagreed (N=55). Other items that also received negative average responses were: *I am only taking Spanish because of the foreign language requirement* (M=2.88); *I want to be more a part of the cultural group that speaks Spanish* (M=3.06); and *Studying Spanish is important because I would like to make friends with Spanish speakers in my community* (M= 3.21). See Table 4.26 for lowest orientation item means.

Table 4.26: Lowest Orientation Item Means

***These means are for individual items, not the 4-item average.**

	Frequency of item answer*						
Orientation Item	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**Mean**	**SD**
I have a personal attachment to Spanish. (68)	30	55	59	35	25	2.85	1.23
I am only taking Spanish because of the foreign language requirement. (73-reverse-coded here)	38	69	16	41	40	2.88	1.44
I want to be more a part of the cultural group that speaks Spanish. (71)	16	40	83	46	19	3.06	1.05
Studying Spanish is important because I would like to make friends with Spanish speakers in my community. (70)	9	39	80	53	23	3.21	1.02
Being able to speak Spanish will add to my social status. *(64)*	11	27	87	59	20	3.25	0.99
Studying Spanish is important because it will help me understand the culture of the Spanish-speakers in my community. *(69)*	9	31	50	83	31	3.47	1.06

** On a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive.*

Discussion

Findings here show that participants scored highest on the instrumental orientation, meaning that they consider the usefulness of Spanish as the most important reason to study the language. This is corroborated by the fact that 57% of all (318) participants in the IBQ marked the usefulness of Spanish as one of the main reasons they chose Spanish over other languages. Of the 204 Anglos, on the orientation items, over 75% indicated that future travel plans and financial benefits were important reasons for

taking Spanish. Over 60% agreed or strongly agreed that they planned on using Spanish in their future career and that it would help them get a better job.

Participants also seem to believe that studying Spanish is important as part of the knowledge gained in a well-rounded education. Over 75% of participants agreed or strongly agreed that they wanted other to think they spoke Spanish well, and that they believe knowing Spanish will make them a more educated person and will give them a broader view of the world. Three of these four orientation items scored in the four highest-scoring items, with only the travel item scoring higher. Interestingly, only the item suggesting that speaking Spanish might add to participants' social status scored low for this orientation. This may suggest that for these participants, Spanish is not considered a language of prestige.

Participants are not, it would seem, very integratively motivated. Participants were less likely to concede that they are studying Spanish for a more personal connection with Spanish speaking people and Spanish cultures; this orientation scored substantially lower than the other two. All four of these items scored low. Just over 30% agreed that they would like to become more a part of the cultural group that speaks Spanish or that they would like to make more Spanish-speaking friends. Worth (2006) in a similar kind of study for learners of Italian found that participants had significantly higher integrative orientations than instrumental. One might argue that students of Spanish would naturally be more instrumentally inclined given the need for bilinguals in the workforce and the widespread use of Spanish. We might make the same argument, however, for the integrative orientation: students of Spanish, especially in Texas, have much more

opportunity to interact with Spanish-speakers, yet they don't seem to view inter-cultural contact as an important reason to learn the language.

The fact that these participants scored much lower on the integrative orientation is very important to consider given that many of the initial studies in motivation in second language learning, such as Lambert and Gardner's (1972) found that an integrative orientation was a better predictor of achievement. There have been studies that have shown that an instrumental orientation can be influential in language learning (Gardner, 1991). Mantle-Bromley (1995) asserts, however, that although many students admit that language learning is useful and there is value to knowing a second language, they are "personally unwilling to commit the time and energy necessary" (373). Many studies, such as Dörnyei (1990) have confirmed the initial claim that "integrative motivation is associated with a higher level of language attainment than is instrumental" (62). Dörnyei explains that an instrumental orientation can "efficiently promote learning up to the intermediate level, to go beyond this point, that is, to 'really learn' the target language, one has to be integratively motivated" (62). So though it is positive that participants here are quite instrumentally oriented, their apparent lack of interest in continuing with Spanish study seems to support Dörnyei's claim that the instrumental orientation will not lead students past an intermediate level.

Over 50% of participants generally agreed that the requirement was the only reason they were taking Spanish classes. This is consistent with previous findings, such as Mandell (2002) who found that over half of the participants studying Spanish, 57%, indicated that the requirement was the primary reason for taking a Spanish course. In the

present study, participants were somewhat polarized on this item, with 40% disagreeing that the requirement was the only reason for taking Spanish. There were very few who responded neutrally, only 8% (N=16) marked a neutral response. What this seems to suggest is that though the requirement may be the only reason for taking Spanish for a majority of students, there is a large number of students who also recognize that there are other valid reasons for studying the language, even if they don't plan on taking courses past the requirement.

These results are also consistent with previous findings that there is a negative correlation between the language requirement and the intention to study the language beyond the requirement (Hernandez, 2008; Ramage, 1990). Reexamining the item from the Motivational Intensity measure concerning the plan to take additional Spanish courses after completing the requirement, findings show that 46 % of these participants do not intend to continue with Spanish study, while only 34 % do plan on continuing. Approximately 20% of participants responded neutrally, suggesting that these students might be undecided.

Motivational Orientation Differences by Group

To determine whether there were differences in motivational orientation across course levels and gender, I compared the means for these groups (shown in Tables 4.27 and 4.28.) Looking at course level, for all orientations the fourth semester, 312L, responds most favorably, whereas the first and third semesters, 506 and 312k have the lowest averages. For Instrumental and Knowledge/Status Orientations the averages for

all course levels is in the somewhat positive range (between 3.6 and 4.1). For the Integrative Orientation however, similar to the overall average reported above, the averages by course level were also lower, between 2.9 and 3.4, in the neither positive nor negative range. For gender, female responses are more positive on all three orientations.

Table 4.27 Motivational Orientation Means by Course Level

Orientation	Course Level	Average
Instrumental	506	3.96
	508k	4.04
	312k	3.78
	312L	4.15
Knowledge/Status	506	3.67
	508k	3.87
	312k	3.77
	312L	4.04
Integrative	506	2.98
	508k	3.17
	312k	2.99
	312L	3.41

** On a five-point scale from negative to positive*

Table 4.28: Motivational Orientation Means by Gender

Orientation	Gender	Average
Instrumental	Male	3.89
	Female	4.05
Knowledge/Status	Male	3.75
	Female	3.92
Integrative	Male	2.99
	Female	3.15

** On a five-point scale from negative to positive*

A MANOVA was run to determine if these differences were significant (see Table 4.29 for results.) Results are significant for course level for all three motivational orientations: Instrumental, p= .045; Knowledge/Status, p= .033; and Integrative, p= .023. For gender on the other hand, results are not significant for Instrumental or Knowledge/Status Orientations (p= .069 for both); results are only significant for the Integrative Orientation (p= .020).

Table 4.29: MANOVA for Orientation by Course Level and Gender

Independent Variable	Dependent Variable	F-Value	P-Value
Course Level	Instrumental	2.736	.045
	Knowledge/Status	2.964	.033
	Integrative	2.371	.023
Gender	Instrumental	3.338	.069
	Knowledge/Status	3.336	.069
	Integrative	5.515	.020

**p value set at .05*

For the foreign language requirement item, the lowest average was for the first semester, 506, with 2.53. The second and third semesters, 508k and 312k had very similar averages, 2.89 and 2.83 respectively. The fourth semester had the highest average, just barely above the neither agree nor disagree, response, at 3.21. For both males and females, averages were low as well, 2.84 for males and 2.92 for females. This data is shown in Tables 4.30 and 4.31.

Table 4.30: Foreign Language Requirement Means by Course Level

Orientation	Course Level	Average	SD
I am only taking Spanish because of the foreign language requirement.	506	2.53	1.44
	508k	2.89	1.44
	312k	2.83	1.38
	312L	3.21	1.45

** Reverse-coded, on a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive*

Table 4.31 Foreign Language Requirement Means by Gender

Orientation	Gender	Average	SD
I am only taking Spanish because of the foreign language requirement.	Male	2.84	1.41
	Female	2.92	1.46

** Reverse-coded, on a five-point scale from most negative response to most positive*

A MANOVA was also run for this item to determine if there were differences for course level and gender. Results for course level show that the differences are not significant: $F(3, 200) = 1.975$, $p = .119$. Results for gender also show that differences are not significant: $F(1, 202) = .146$, $p = .703$.

Discussion

Interestingly, though there are not significant differences in the Motivational Intensity or Attitudes measures for course level, there is a significant difference in all three main orientations. What is also noteworthy is that although the fourth semester scores significantly higher than the other levels on all three orientations, participants in this level do not score higher on the requirement orientation. Though these participants seem to acknowledge that there are several compelling reasons for becoming proficient in Spanish, they are not necessarily more willing to put forth the effort in order to attain a higher level of proficiency. Similarly for gender, though female participants scored significantly higher on Motivational Intensity and they even scored significantly higher on the integrative orientation, yet they also seem to agree that the requirement is a main reason for taking Spanish.

Motivational Orientation Correlations with Other Measures

Research Question 7: *What is the relationship between Anglo students' motivational orientations and their Motivation Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers?*

To determine the relationship between motivational orientations and Motivational Intensity, Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients were calculated. See Table 4.32 for correlational matrix for all main measures and orientations.

Table 4.32: Correlational Matrix—Main Measures and Orientations

	Mot. Intensity	Instru-mental	Know/ status	Integra-tive	Require-ment
Attitude	.55**	.29**	.52**	.71**	-.26**
Mot. Intensity		.58**	.67**	.68**	-.69**
Instrumental			.55**	.47**	-.44**
Know/status				.64**	-.36**
Integrative					-.43**

***. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).*

(Requirement item not reverse-coded here.)

In addition to the significant correlation between Motivational Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish, as discussed above, both of these measures are moderately correlated with all three motivational orientations and negatively correlated with the language requirement. In addition, all of the orientations are correlated and all measures are negatively associated with the language requirement.

Discussion

The Motivational Intensity measure shares moderately strong correlations with all three orientations, though the correlation with instrumental orientation is slightly smaller. These findings would seem to indicate that as participants' motivation increases they are

more likely to feel more strongly about their reasons for studying Spanish. The association between motivation and the instrumental orientation was somewhat weaker than the other two main orientations, which may suggest that the utilitarian value of learning Spanish is not as associated to motivational intensity as the other orientations.

It has also been found in previous studies (Ely, 1986; Hernandez, 2008; Ramage, 1990), and is supported by the findings in the present study, that there is a negative relationship between motivational intensity and the requirement motive. There was a strong negative correlation between Motivational Intensity and the requirement orientation, suggesting that participants with higher motivation are less likely to be taking the Spanish course only because of the requirement. This also would also seem to support that the strength of participants' motivation is an important factor in whether they decide to continue taking Spanish courses past the language requirement.

The attitude measure also shares moderate correlations with all three orientations. Interestingly, the highest correlation for Attitudes is with the integrative orientation. This would seem to indicate that participants with more positive attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers are more likely to be studying Spanish for integrative reasons: meaning they might tend to have more desire for a personal connection with Spanish and Spanish speakers and wish to better understand the target language group. Though the correlation between Attitudes and instrumental orientation was significant, the association was quite a bit weaker than for the other two orientations. This suggests that having positive attitudes is not as associated with the desire to study Spanish for utilitarian purposes and

also suggests, as Nocon (1995) indicates, that students may consider Spanish useful regardless of negative attitudes toward the language and toward Spanish speakers.

The relationship between the requirement orientation item and Attitudes was not as strong, though still significant, indicating that how positive a student's attitudes are toward Spanish and Spanish speakers is a factor in whether they are only studying Spanish for requirement reasons and therefore a factor in whether or not they will continue beyond the requirement.

It is also important to note that all three orientation scales as well as the requirement orientation item are correlated significantly. This indicates that participants may not have only one principal reason for studying Spanish: this finding supports previous research that has suggested that students often have several reasons for studying a language (Clément & Kruidenier, 1983). Participants in the present study may have indicated that all three orientations are very important or conversely, they may have expressed little desire to study Spanish for any reason other than the requirement. Participants may see Spanish as useful and as an important part of a broad education and still have no intention of studying beyond the language requirement.

Here we can observe that, though all three orientations are significant with respect to Motivational Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish Speakers, the integrative orientation is most strongly correlated with both measures. The integrative orientation is of particular importance because it has been found to significantly predict language learning achievement (Gardner & MacIntyre, 1991).

One interesting observation is the strength of correlation between the requirement orientation and the other three orientation indices. While the studies mentioned above found integrative to be a more favorable predictor of continuing language studies, in this study, the correlations between all orientations were moderate in association with the requirement, but the correlations between the requirement and both the instrumental orientation and the integrative orientation were essentially equal. This suggests that the notion that Spanish may be useful for financial or career benefit is as significant a consideration for this population as a desire to connect with the culture in determining whether they will continue Spanish study.

To reiterate, the instrumental orientation received the highest orientation score, indicating that participants perceive usefulness to be the most important reason for choosing to study Spanish, but had the lowest correlation with both the Attitude measure and the Motivational Intensity measure. However, the instrumental orientation had a moderate negative correlation with the requirement orientation, suggesting that as students become more instrumentally oriented, they are less likely to be taking Spanish only because of the requirement. This finding is relevant because in many studies, the instrumental orientation seems to play a less important role (Worth, 2006).

Chapter 5

Conclusions, Implications, Directions for Future Research, and Limitations

In this chapter I will draw conclusions based on the results of this study and discussion in the previous chapter and discuss the theoretical and pedagogical implications of the findings. I will also address possible limitations of this study and avenues for future research.

Conclusions

Anglos in Texas who choose to study Spanish do so in a unique socio-cultural context. Coming from a position of socio-linguistic dominance Anglos have chosen to study Spanish, a minority language of a subordinate group: a group that was conquered by Anglos nearly two centuries ago in a region that once belonged to Spanish speakers. A socio-cultural perspective of learning would suggest that the social, historical, and cultural context would affect the attitudes of these language learners toward the language they are learning and toward the target population in important, albeit, perhaps subconscious ways. Because of the extensive literature indicating that social attitudes are associated with language learning motivation, this study proposed to examine the

motivational intensity and the attitudes of Spanish-language learners in this context and their reasons for studying Spanish.

It is first important to recognize that results are generally not as negative as anticipated. Despite the social, historical, and cultural context that points to the existence of negative attitudes and resistance to learning Spanish, these participants' scores, for the most part, were somewhat positive. Given that social desirability did not seem to be associated with either of the main measures, it can be presumed that participants are responding honestly. Their positive responses may be due, in part, to education and to age and generational factors. Young people, even in Texas, a state that fairly consistently votes quite conservatively, overwhelmingly voted for President Barack Obama. It may be that younger generations are open to and interested in more positive racial relations and more resistant to adopting some of the negative stereotypes that they have encountered. These participants are students, most from the top ten per cent of their highs school graduating classes, now enrolled in a selective, comprehensive university. These could be mitigating factors that temper some of the attitudes that I had expected would be somewhat more negative.

Overall, participants in the study reported having moderate levels of motivation. They seemed to have positive attitudes toward learning Spanish and scored quite high on items regarding desired fluency; they scored somewhat lower, however, on items related to effort and related to continuing with language study after fulfilling the requirement. Because this study conceptualizes motivation, similar to Gardner (1985), as a combination of three necessary elements: effort, enjoyment, and desire to achieve a goal,

it is questioned whether or not these participants can truly be considered motivated. Perhaps, as Peirce (1995) and Lantolf (2001) suggest, investment, rather than motivation, is a more appropriate term for language learning. Since not knowing Spanish is not an impediment and does not exclude these participants from valuable resources or social participation, perhaps they do not see a return on language learning that is commensurate with the effort they would need to expend to achieve proficiency.

Dörnyei (2001) suggested that, because language learning is a long and arduous journey, research should address the temporal aspect of motivation, to determine if there were changes in motivation over time. Although there may be several reasons for these results, for participants in this study, motivation seemed to remain quite stable, as no significant differences were found in four levels of Spanish study. Results did show, however, that there were significant differences in motivational intensity for gender: that is, women were significantly more motivated than men.

It was suggested in the theoretical framework of the present study that Anglo learners of Spanish might be susceptible to the same social attitudes that seem to send subtle negative messages to Hispanics regarding the status of Spanish. Participants here reported having somewhat neutral attitudes, neither very negative nor very positive, toward Spanish, Spanish speakers, and Spanish-speaking cultures. Participants reported feeling most positive about the presence of Hispanic culture in the U.S.: they indicated that Hispanic culture has been a positive influence in Texas and that Hispanics should be able to maintain their culture. Their feelings were somewhat more negative toward issues of language: they disagreed that English-speakers should learn Spanish to help

accommodate the Spanish-speaking populations and they strongly believed that Spanish speakers should have to learn English. They also reported somewhat ambivalent attitudes regarding undocumented immigrants and seemed to generally believe that the overall impact of illegal immigration was negative, though they mostly supported paths to citizenship.

Similar to motivational intensity, attitudes remained fairly stable, and did not seem to change significantly in the four levels of language instruction. This stability in attitudes suggests, as has been found in previous literature (Robinson-Stuart & Nocon, 1996) that merely attending a language class does not bring about more positive attitudes toward the target language or the target group. Unlike for motivational intensity however, there were no significant gender differences for social attitudes: though results indicated that female participants were more motivated, they do not seem to have more positive attitudes. This may suggest that for women attitudes are not as associated with motivational intensity as much as for men.

Based on findings of Nocon's (1995) study, set in a similar context, this study also proposed to assess differences in participants' perceptions of Mexico and Spain. According to the results here, participants appear to have a slightly more negative perception of Mexico. Spain, on the other hand, was perceived in a more positive light, along with several other European countries. Although mitigating factors, such as the European allure or the drug-violence in Mexico may account, in part, for these results, this would seem to suggest that there is at least some social distancing in regards to more local populations. This may also indicate, as Schumann (1976) hypothesized, that social

distance is an important factor for second language learning groups who are in a position of dominance relative to the target group and may ultimately prevent them from developing sufficient communicative competence in the target language.

This study found, similar to many previously cited studies such as Lambert and Gardner (1972), that there was a moderate correlation between social attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers and motivational intensity. There were also moderate to moderately strong correlations between these two main measures and the three orientation scales. The attitude measure had a moderately strong association with the integrative orientation, suggesting that participants with more positive attitudes tended to desire more integration with Spanish speakers and their culture. There was only a weak correlation however for attitudes and the instrumental orientation; this suggests that participants may believe that Spanish is useful regardless of their attitudes toward the target group.

Though over half of the participants in this study indicated that the language requirement was the only reason they were taking Spanish classes, many also reported that instrumental reasons for learning Spanish were an important consideration. The integrative orientation received the lowest average, indicating that participants generally did not believe that a more personal connection with Spanish speakers and their culture was an important reason to study Spanish. This may also be suggestive of social distancing. Results for integrative orientation are of particular interest because this orientation has been shown to have a greater association with high levels of motivation and with a desire to continue studying Spanish. Findings in the present study confirm

that a higher integrative orientation is indeed more strongly correlated with motivational intensity as well as with more positive attitudes. Both the instrumental and the integrative orientation had moderately negative correlations with the requirement orientation, however, which may indicate that for this population instrumental reasons are just as important as integrativeness when deciding whether to invest more time in language study.

Theoretical Implications

Ely (1986) indicates that it is important to investigate both the motivational "strength", that is the effort expended in trying to reach the goal, and the "type" of language learning motivation, or the reason for studying the language (28). Ely addresses the link that has been established between the degree of motivation and language proficiency and suggests that "if indeed motivational strength mediates the effect of motivational type on language learning outcomes, then it is important to discover which reasons for language study predict the greatest motivational strength in a particular population" (28).

The integrative orientation has been consistently been shown to be a significant predictor of achievement. Gardner and Masgoret (2003) also found a relationship between integrative orientation and achievement measures such as class grade and other factors such as participation and persistence over time. Hernandez (2008) found that language learners that exhibited higher levels of integrative motivation also score higher on a standardized test of speaking proficiency (SOPI), which could be considered a more

reliable measure of achievement than a measure such as class grade. This suggests that students who have an integrative orientation actually develop higher levels of linguistic proficiency. Skehan (1989) points out that the integrative orientation has also been shown to be associated with "hypothesis formation about the target language and a willingness to restructure the linguistic system" (58). Because of this link between language-learning achievement and integrative orientation, Hernandez (2008) recommends that language teachers promote it "as an avenue to increase student achievement."

Ely (1986), however, who found that students exhibited both instrumental and integrative motivational orientations, recommended that "instructional materials prepared for the target population should be designed to *appeal* to both clusters of motivation [and that] in order to promote a stronger commitment to language learning, the *development* of both [types] of motivation should be encouraged" (32). Hernandez (2008) found that many students, similar to the participants in this study, do demonstrate an instrumental orientation that does, at least to some degree, seem to influence motivation. He suggests fostering the instrumental orientation by inviting guest speakers, discussing career opportunities, and addressing the need for foreign language learning in the U.S. (10). However, Hernandez also found, as Dörnyei has suggested, that an integrative orientation was a "significant predictor of students' desire to continue further coursework in Spanish after completing the four semester language requirement" (9).

Regarding the relevance of orientation, Spolsky (1989) states that, "a language may be learned for any one or any collection of practical reasons. The importance of

these reasons to the learner will determine what degree of effort he or she will make, what cost he or she will pay for the learning" (160). Clearly, the results of this study show that students exhibit, to varying degrees, all three orientations, and therefore, all three orientations should be targeted in order to increase motivational intensity and positive attitudes in students of Spanish. Though participants here indicated that the instrumental orientation was the most important, as Nocon (1995) discussed, "Spanish can be viewed instrumentally as a tool for increased cultural and business contact with Mexicans. However, the possibility also exists that the choice to study Spanish may be made in spite of the local target community rather than because of it" (48). The integrative orientation has been more consistently linked to success and was found, in the present study, to be more highly correlated with both Motivational Intensity and Attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish speakers. For these reasons, and because it received the lowest score in this study, it may make sense to intensify efforts in this regard.

Ely also comments that the current conceptualization of motivational orientation on the AMTB does not include a requirement orientation (31). This orientation needs to be addressed due to the large number of students who report the requirement as one of the principal reasons for taking language classes. Also regarding the requirement, students should understand, as Ramage (1990) indicates, that the language requirement "is seldom enough time […] to allow the student to develop competence […] Two years is inadequate for foreign language proficiency" (190). Perhaps what students, such as the participants here need to understand, is that, though Spanish is useful in the ways that they believe, having basic or even intermediate proficiency in Spanish will probably not

be very helpful for career advancement or lead to financial benefit. Perhaps what language instructors should emphasize, is that if students want to become proficient enough that they can successfully use Spanish; if they want others to think that they speak Spanish well, as participants have indicated, then they will need to study it beyond the language requirement. However, in order to increase the desire to continue studying it after fulfilling the requirement, language teachers may need to understand the connection with the integrative orientation and might consider finding ways of fostering a more personal connection with Spanish speakers and their culture.

Pedagogical Implications

Participants here expressed somewhat contradictory desires: they wish they were fluent but they aren't willing to put in enough effort now, and they don't plan on continuing after fulfilling the requirement. It is suggested that language learning beliefs need to be addressed in language classes to give students more realistic expectations regarding the time and effort required to become proficient. Ramage (1990) explains that the standard requirement is not enough time to develop linguistic competence. Mantle-Bromley (1995) confirms this citing the Foreign Service Institute and several studies that found that after 2-4 years of high school language study, students had not passed from novice stage to intermediate and ranged from a 0 to 0+ on the Foreign Service Institute proficiency scale (372).

Of course we must encourage students to continue language study and to make language proficiency a more important goal than fulfillment of the requirement.

Language skills aside, however, we must also consider what kind of attitudes we would like to instill in students. The most important reason for this is that if positive attitudes are associated with motivation and with an integrative orientation and these two factors are related to proficiency, fostering positive attitudes may be the only hope of developing students with any real degree of communicative competence.

Bateman (2002) observes that although identification with the target language group and culture has been shown to affect second language acquisition, there has been little research in the opposite direction, studying the effect of second language learning on changes in attitude (318). Byram (1999), investigating the relationship between language teaching and language attitudes found that "the effect of language teaching on young people's perceptions of and attitudes towards other peoples and cultures was negligible (110). Although we should remember that not all participants in the language program complete all four semesters of the language program, results of the present study suggest that there is little change in attitudes toward the language or the target group as time learning the language increases. This also confirms Robinson's (1978) claim that "no research has shown attitude change to be an automatic outcome of any type of foreign language instruction" (138).

Byram (1999) adds that although many language teachers realize that the development of positive attitudes is one of the goals of language education they also point to the "powerful countervailing influence of the media and other factors outside school, and the lack of a systematic, planned approach to the cultural dimension in teaching" (110). Perhaps it is important to add that, even if teachers agree that the

development of positive attitudes is an important goal, based on previous claims, and as suggested by the findings in this study, they can obviously not expect that exposure alone to the language in the classroom will be sufficient to bring about more positive attitudes.

In order to foster positive attitudes, I would argue that some of the negative attitudes that permeate the media need to be addressed outright. We teach "Ser versus Estar" while avoiding the discourse of lawmakers on Capitol Hill talking about building a wall between Texas and Mexico in order to curb illegal immigration. Many students in this study reported believing that illegal immigration is a drain on the economy and that illegal immigrants should not be allowed to stay in the U. S., but do they have the opportunity to consider and discuss the benefits of immigration from an economic perspective? Have students had the opportunity to talk to immigrants about their experiences to become more empathetic? Students have clearly expressed their beliefs that Spanish speakers should learn English, but we don't ask them to consider the time and effort it takes to learn a language when the luxury of taking university classes is not an option. This may also be, as mentioned above, a reflection of unrealistic expectations regarding the time and effort involved in becoming proficient in a language.

Byram (1999) also found that many teachers believe that positive attitudes and tolerance can only be developed if students have contact with the target language population, what has been termed "pedagogy of exchange" (116). Though Spanish language programs often cite "communication" as one of the goals of language study, students, most often, have had very few, if any, linguistic encounters with native Spanish speakers. Most students have not been required to use the linguistic competence they

possess to communicate in real intercultural contact. Students need the opportunity, even in beginning language courses, to experience what it is like to communicate in a second language with the skills they have developed thus far. Byram points out, however, that "it is not always necessary to make visits and exchanges abroad […] encounters can also take place in pupil's own daily life" (116). There are other studies that have investigated the effects of inter-cultural contact: Bateman, 2002; Bloom, 2008; Clément, 1980; Clément, Gardner & Smythe, 1977; Clément & Kruidenier, 1983; Csizér & Kormos, 2008; Kormos & Csizér, 2007, and most, if not all have concluded that there are positive changes that occur when students of a language interact with speakers of the target language.

Clément, Gardner, and Smythe (1977), explain how competence or language proficiency is related to attitudes:

> Achievement in a second language is related to motivation to learn that language which is in turn, related to attitudes towards the second language community. It follows that programs designed to foster contact between members of different ethnic groups to promote greater cross-cultural understanding should be expected to have an impact on the individual's motivation to learn a second language and his or her ensuing achievement (205).

These researchers found that exposure did in fact increase positive attitudes, though they also found that students with more positive initial attitudes were more likely to seek out contact. Clément and Kruidenier (1983) found that students who experienced frequent, pleasant inter-cultural contact scored higher on linguistic self-confidence, which in turn had a positive effect on motivation.

Bloom (2008), confirmed the findings of previous studies that had found significant positive change in both attitudes and motivation after students' involvement in service-learning project in a beginning Spanish language course. Through participants' reflections, Bloom found that those involved did seem to develop more positive attitudes, such as a better understanding of English-language learners. While Bloom's service-learning project did increase participation in the local community and she found that attitudes did change for the better, there are some concerns with this approach.

A major concern, and something that Bloom noted, was the effort, many times on the part of the instructor, involved in establishing contacts, finding service-learning projects that students can participate in, and coordinating the project. The time and effort involved, from a teaching perspective, may render this option for intercultural contact unfeasible for a large language program. Another concern, also one of Bloom's own, was that the service learning context might create "a dichotomous sense of those being served, or 'them', and those doing the service, 'us'" (112). This may perpetuate the stereotype of the Hispanic population as a problem and reduce the goal of Spanish language learning to a social need. While becoming proficient in the language for service purposes is a perfectly noble aim, it should also be emphasized that the Hispanic population can also be seen as potential clients, potential consumers, and a linguistic resource.

In addition, some of the interactions in Bloom's study, while they did involve members of the target language community, did not necessarily involve the use of Spanish. Rather than a service-learning approach, I would suggest a more equal

linguistic exchange with English language learners, where both sides have the potential for linguistic gains. This would also support the suggestion of Allport (1954), one of the pioneers of what Kormos and Csizér (2007) refer to as the "Contact Hypothesis," who indicated that equal status and common goals were important aspects of contact for favorable change in attitudes.

Another possible problem with the service-learning project in Bloom's study was that it was voluntary, which may mean that the students with the most positive attitudes and the highest levels of motivation opted to participate. Though I am proposing a linguistic exchange rather than service learning, incorporating inter-cultural exchange, in whatever manner desired, as one of the goals of a language program and as part of the course curriculum and grading requirement for all students would be more beneficial. I would be interested in seeing what changes, if any, occur in students with lower than average motivation and somewhat negative attitudes when they are given the opportunity for authentic communication with native Spanish speakers.

In addition to service learning, several researchers have investigated other kinds of intercultural contact, such as the use of ethnographic interviews (Bateman, 2002; Robinson-Stuart & Nocon, 1996). Robinson-Stuart and Nocon found that the use of ethnographic interviews "initiated positive perceptual, affective, and cognitive changes" (443). One participant in Robinson and Nocon's study commented that she learned more about Mexican culture in one semester with her interviewee than in 8 semesters of Spanish classes (442). Bateman (2002) also found that "the project not only improved

the students' attitudes toward Spanish speakers but also increased their desire to learn Spanish" (321).

Though many students are taking Spanish courses mainly to fulfill the requirement, they also seem to recognize other reasons for studying Spanish: that it is useful and that it is part of a well-rounded education. Though they are somewhat less interested in learning Spanish for the integrative purpose of communicating with members of their local community, perhaps language teachers should emphasize, as Kormos and Csizér (2007) point out, that "one of the main aims of learning second and foreign languages is to be able to communicate with members of other cultures who do not speak one's mother tongue" (3). If students remain in Texas, as a recent new article indicates they are likely to do, they will inevitably encounter Spanish speakers. Spanish is so useful precisely because we need more bilingual speakers to communicate with the Spanish-speaking community. Students need to understand that the hope of using Spanish for future employment would require high levels of proficiency and most certainly entail contact with Spanish speakers in the U.S.

Another possible benefit of inter-cultural contact is that some of the negative perceptions and myths about undocumented immigrants and the willingness of Spanish-speakers to learn English might be dispelled. Many participants here seemed to believe that Spanish-speakers are reticent to assimilate; that they don't want to learn English; and that there should be no accommodations by English speakers in terms of language. There are simpler interpretations for some of these beliefs that may warrant consideration. We might consider, however, Wertsch's (1991) argument that we must understand what the

term socio-cultural means in a much broader way. Wertsch proposes a Bakhtinian approach that understands that: "any utterance is inherently interrelated with others" (94). Wertsch explains the notion of social language, which goes beyond an individual using language: a social language is a manner of speaking, a set of interrelated utterances of a particular socio-cultural setting.

What this means in regards to this study, is that we need to better understand the influences of this socio-cultural setting; we need to understand that students of Spanish are socialized with this socio-historical backdrop and that many of the attitudes they express are products of the "social language" that surrounds these issues. Perhaps we should consider the messages that are publicly made available through the media concerning immigration and concerning Hispanics and their willingness to assimilate and to learn English. Though participants in the present study did not report feeling that Hispanic culture or the Spanish language was a threat, their scores on several of the items seem to suggest that they feel that Hispanics should have to assimilate linguistically, which may reflect a perception that Hispanics currently don't.

Gynan (1993) reviewed the discourse in pamphlets and newsletters distributed by one English-Only organization. Gynan explains that throughout this literature there is a pervasive notion that "US Spanish-speakers are now refusing to learn English and that bilingual education is a significant reason for this attitudinal shift" (9). It has also been noted that English-only supporters accuse Hispanics not only of refusing to learn English, but of demanding special language services such as bilingual education and bilingual ballots. Valdés (1997) also asserts that "Latinos, as a group, have not used language as a

mobilizing strategy. […] Battles for bilingual education have had to do—not with language itself—but with concern about the education of children who do not speak the societal language" (30).

It has been demonstrated that much of the rhetoric that fuels such a passionate push for English-only laws is flawed at best, and often false and misleading. Valdés (1997) explains: "It has been clearly established by several scholars that present-day immigrants to the US are acquiring English and shifting away from the use of their ethnic languages" (30). Language experts have explained that most non-English speaking immigrant groups assimilate linguistically by the second or third generation, many becoming "English only" speakers, completely losing their native language (Fishman, 1988; 131).

Anecdotally speaking, when I was teaching Spanish for Health Care Professionals, students were required to read about and discuss some of these issues described above. Initially, they expressed some of the same negative attitudes about immigrants and their assimilation patterns, but perhaps most importantly, they questioned why, since they are in the U.S., should they have to learn Spanish; as a result, they reported almost resenting the presence of monolingual Spanish speakers.

Lippi-Green (1997) asserts that "the social space between two speakers is not neutral. Each time you begin an exchange, a complex series of calculations begins" (69). These calculations in a multilingual exchange would include not only issues of formality and deference, but also assumptions about whose responsibility it is to use their non-native language. Lippi-Green argues: "What we see is that members of the dominant

language group feel perfectly empowered to demand that [*the other*] carry the majority of responsibility of the communicative act" (70). Results on several of the items in the present study would seem to support Lippi-Green's claim: English speakers in the U.S. generally disagree that they need to learn Spanish to help accommodate Spanish-speakers.

After discussing these topics in class throughout the semester my students often reported feeling differently: more positive, more accommodating, and more willing to attempt to communicate in the future. These Nursing students also were required to conduct interviews with native Spanish speakers, an experience which also led them to think differently about some of these attitudes. After discovering what it was like to have a conversation with a Spanish speaker, many of them reported feeling more sympathetic toward English-language learners; they also reported feeling less reticent and resentful about learning Spanish and more positive about using Spanish outside of class in the future.

Returning to the present study, participants rated the utility of Spanish as one of the major reasons for studying the language. Language teachers also talk about the usefulness of Spanish without requiring that students actually use the language with the populations with which it would be most useful. I don't think we can pretend that Spanish is just an academic subject; it is not just a system of rules that students study within the confines of the classroom walls. It is a language that is spoken in the students' own communities by hundreds and thousands of Spanish speakers, both monolingual and bilingual. Students need to be confronted with the reality that, if they really want to be

able to use it they will have to invest the time and effort, otherwise, the utility of Spanish is empty rhetoric.

Directions for Future Research

Horwitz (2000), in a historical overview of the first several decades of articles, from *The Modern Language Journal*, regarding how language teachers perceive language learners and the implications of these perceptions for language teaching, points to several instances in the first half of the 20th century in which language teachers noted the effects of the socio-political atmosphere in the U.S. on the field of language learning. Horwitz explains of the 1950's for example: "During a decade that many view as isolationist, language teachers recognized that the socio-political context of the United States had an important influence on the success of their work" (529). Horwitz points to historical events such as World War I and II and the economic state of the U.S. both pre and post-depression era that help explain why language learners shifted from one language to another, their reasons for studying a particular language, or why enrollments began suddenly decreasing.

In the second half of the 20th century, as outlined in the review of the literature, there has been increasing interest in the socio-cultural aspect of language learning, yet there has been very little research that has addressed the complexities of language learning of specific populations taking into consideration the social, historical, political, and cultural contexts of a defined time and space. Nocon (1995) was the most recent study looking at the socio-cultural context of learning Spanish in the Southwest, yet it

was conducted nearly 15 years prior to the present study. Due to the differences in study design and the type of data gathered, comparisons are somewhat limited. I would suggest that more studies of this kind, contextualized in time and space, that attempt to understand learner motivation, attitudes, and reasons for studying the language are needed to better understand such a complex, but pivotal, facet of language learning. It would also be beneficial to conduct similar studies of Spanish-language learning in other areas of the Southwest that take into account the socio-historical context and Anglo-Hispanic relations to determine how representative these results are.

There is also a need to understand the motivational intensity of Anglos learning Spanish in the greater context of foreign language education. Students enrolled in Spanish classes may not be less motivated to learn their language of choice than students enrolled in other language courses. It is possible that all students required to take a series of language classes will have similar levels of motivation regardless of the language they study. It is possible that students of any language don't want to expend effort in language learning when they feel they are mostly taking language courses to fulfill the language requirement. More research needs to be done into comparisons across languages to get a better sense of how students score relative to the language they are studying.

Similarly, for attitudes towards the Spanish language and Spanish speakers there is a need to understand how students of Spanish compare to students of other languages. It is possible that the students with the most negative attitudes toward Spanish and Spanish-speaking populations simply do not choose to enroll in Spanish courses; perhaps they choose to study other languages. On the other hand, it is possible that students with

negative attitudes take Spanish courses despite their negative attitudes. It would be interesting to conduct studies involving students of other languages to develop a better understanding of how they feel about Spanish and why they chose another language even though there is such a need for professionals who speak Spanish.

It is clearly important to further investigate the use of intercultural contact and its potential effect on motivational intensity, attitudes, and intention to continue language study. Though, several of the studies mentioned previously used ethnographic interviews, other methods of intercultural contact are also possible: other kinds of interviews; group interviews with class visitors where students ask questions; local language exchanges between English learners and Spanish learners; or taking advantage of technology for instant messaging or video-chats, blogging, or simply an email exchange with English learners either within the U.S. or from other Spanish-speaking countries.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is the type of data collected. Though this study was originally conceptualized to include qualitative data, in the form of interviews or focus groups, because of time constraints, it was eventually limited to quantitative data. It is recognized, however, that qualitative data may have greater potential for adding deeper understandings into how students feel about studying Spanish, why they have the attitudes they have, and whether or not they plan on continuing and the reasons for that decision. Dörnyei (2001) has also suggested that "interpretive techniques such as

in-depth interviews or case studies are in many ways better suited to explore the internal dynamics of the intricate and multilevel construct of student motivation than quantitative methods" (49).

This study is not meant to evaluate a particular language program. Rather, what I suggest in my theoretical framework, in terms of students' motivation and attitudes, is that given the social, cultural, historical, and political contexts in which students study Spanish, their levels of motivation and their attitudes are most likely a result of their socialization and not necessarily attributable to a language program itself.

Though the Attitude scale of the ModAMTB used in this study addressed Hispanics in the U.S., the language comparison section of the LCSD scale only looked at Spain versus Mexico. It is unknown how participants feel about U.S. Hispanics in relation to Spanish speakers from Spain and from Mexico.

In the results and discussion chapter, I noted that it appeared that participants seemed to react more favorably to the negatively worded items. It may be that participants are reacting to the wording of the item or of part of the item. Though many of the items were taken from already existing measures that have been, in some cases, extensively tested for reliability and validity, additional item analysis might be warranted. Though participants had generally low levels of social desirability, they may hesitate to express overtly negative sentiments, even if they don't necessarily have positive attitudes.

It should be noted, as mentioned in the review of the literature, that there are many variables that have been shown to influence language learners' motivation: self-confidence, anxiety, and aspects of the learning environment such as materials, teacher,

and activities. Many of these variables are also important in looking at language learning achievement. There is no way to address all of the possible variables in a questionnaire of manageable length. The decision was made to limit the questionnaire principally to those areas of interest that were specifically addressed in the framework of the study.

Many second language acquisition researchers have argued that social factors must be addressed when looking at the language learning process; I have also chosen to focus on language learning from a socio-cultural perspective. However, many researchers also point to the importance of individual factors as well. There are obviously individual factors that may override effects of social factors. There is no way to account for all the possible factors involved in what is a very complex process from both an individual and a social standpoint.

Appendix A

Individual Background Questionnaire

Your gender: Male Female Age: _____

Major: _____ Minor: _____

Ethnicity:

_____Anglo / White / Non-Hispanic

_____African-American

_____Hispanic/Latino

_____Asian

_____Native American

_____Other: _____

Year at UT:

_____1st year, undergraduate

_____2nd year, undergraduate

_____3rd year, undergraduate

_____4th year, undergraduate

_____5th year, undergraduate

_____Other: _____

Are you a resident of Texas? Yes/ No

If no, explain: _____

If yes, how long have you lived in Texas: _____

Where are your parents from? _____

Did you study a foreign language in high school? Yes / No

If yes: Which one(s):

_____

How many years: _____

What Spanish course are you in now? 506 507 508 312K 312L

Have you taken any other language courses, other than Spanish at UT? Yes / No

If yes, what language(s): _____

How many semesters: _____

Is English your primary (native) language? Yes/ No

If no, what is your native language? _____

Do you speak any other language fluently, besides your primary (native) language?

Yes / No

If yes, which one(s): _____

Do any members of your family speak Spanish fluently? Yes / No

If yes, who: _____

Please tell me in your own words: What is your main reason for taking Spanish?

_____

What is your ***principal*** reason for choosing Spanish **over other languages**?

_____It will be useful for my future career.

_____It is easier than other languages.

_____It was a convenient fit for my schedule.

_____I have already studied some Spanish and wanted to learn more.

_____I have already studied Spanish and want an easy A

_____Personal interest.

_____For future travel purposes.

_____For heritage reasons.

_____Other: _____

What is your predicted grade for your current Spanish course?

_____A _____D

_____B _____F

_____C

On a scale from 1 to 10, please rate how motivated you feel about studying Spanish (1 being the least motivated and 10 being the most motivated): _____

Is there anything else you'd like to share about your experiences studying Spanish that was not asked above?

_____

_____

_____

Appendix B

Modified AMTB

Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

Attitudes toward the Spanish language, Spanish Speakers, their culture and presence in the U.S.:

1. If the Southwestern U.S. were to lose the Hispanic culture, it would be a great loss.
2. Most Hispanics in Texas are so friendly and easy to get along with that we are fortunate to have them.
3. Hispanics in Texas are a very sociable, warm-hearted, and creative people.
4. I would like to get to know more Hispanics in my community.
5. Because of the large number of Spanish speakers in the Southwestern U.S., all students in Texas should learn Spanish.
6. Spanish is a prestigious language in Texas.
7. I like that there are so many Spanish-speakers in the United States.
8. All Americans should have a better understanding of Hispanic culture.
9. The more I get to know Hispanics, the more I want to be fluent in their language.
10. I support programs to help undocumented immigrants become citizens.
11. Undocumented workers make an important contribution to our economy.
12. Most Spanish speaking immigrants make an effort to acculturate in the U.S.

(negatively keyed)

13. The more I learn about Hispanics, the less I like them.
14. Hispanics should not try to maintain their cultural identity.
15. Hispanic culture is a real threat to our national unity.
16. The Spanish language is a real threat to our national unity.
17. Hispanic culture has had a negative impact on the U.S.
18. Spanish speakers should have to learn English if they intend to live in the U.S.
19. Most Spanish-speaking immigrants don't want to learn English.
20. Spanish is unpleasant to the ear.
21. Undocumented immigrants are a drain on our economy.
22. Undocumented immigrants should not be allowed to stay in this country.
23. We should limit the number of Spanish-speaking immigrants because there are already so many.
24. English speakers should not need to learn Spanish to accommodate Spanish speakers.

Motivational Intensity-- desire to learn Spanish, effort, willingness to continue:

25. Spanish is a really great language.
26. I wish I had begun studying Spanish at an early age.
27. If it were up to me, I would spend all of my time studying Spanish.
28. I want to learn Spanish so well that it becomes second nature to me.
29. I would like to learn as much Spanish as possible.
30. I would like to be fluent in Spanish.
31. I love learning Spanish.
32. I work hard in Spanish class even when I don't like what we are doing.
33. I try to use Spanish outside of class whenever I have a chance.
34. I can honestly say that I really put my best effort into trying to learn Spanish.
35. I plan on taking Spanish even beyond the language requirement.
36. I would take Spanish even if it weren't required.

(negatively keyed)

37. I hate Spanish.
38. Knowing Spanish is not an important goal in my life.
39. I sometimes wish I could drop Spanish.
40. I do the bare minimum in Spanish class to get by.
41. To be honest, I have little desire to learn Spanish.
42. I would rather spend my time doing anything other than Spanish.
43. I find the study of Spanish very boring.
44. Studying Spanish is a waste of time.
45. I never try to use Spanish outside of class.
46. To be honest, I don't put very much effort into learning Spanish.
47. When I finish the language requirement I will quit studying Spanish because I am not interested in it.
48. If there were no language requirement I would never have taken Spanish.

General Interest in Foreign Languages:

49. Studying a foreign language is an important part of education.
50. Speaking a foreign language is especially relevant in today's world.
51. I wish I could speak another language perfectly.
52. If I planned to stay in another country, I would make the effort to learn the language even if I could get by in English.
53. I enjoy meeting and listening to people who speak other languages.

(negatively keyed)

54. It is not important for Americans to speak a language other than English.
55. I really have no desire to speak any foreign language.
56. The foreign language requirement should be eliminated.
57. Studying a foreign language is not a pleasant experience.
58. I would rather see a foreign film dubbed in English than in its original language with sub-titles.
59. I don't like when people speak languages other than English in the U.S.

Motivational Orientation:

Instrumental: interest in Spanish for utilitarian purposes

60. Knowing Spanish will have financial benefits for me.
61. If I learn Spanish, I will get a better job.
62. I plan on using Spanish in my future career.
63. I plan on traveling to Spanish-speaking countries.

Education/Status: interest in Spanish to appear more cultured and educated.

64. Being able to speak Spanish will add to my social status.
65. I am learning Spanish to become a more educated person.
66. I want people to think I speak Spanish well.
67. Learning Spanish will give me a broader view of the world.

Integrative: interest in Spanish for a more personal connection with people and culture.

68. I have a personal attachment to Spanish.
69. Studying Spanish is important because it will help me understand the culture of the Spanish-speakers in my community.
70. Studying Spanish is important because I would like to make friends with Spanish-speakers in my community.
71. I want to be more a part of the cultural group that speaks Spanish.

72. I am only taking Spanish because it is the easiest foreign language to learn.
73. I am only taking Spanish because of the foreign language requirement.

Note:

The following items were adapted from the AMTB, found in Gardner and Masgoret (1997): 1-5, 9, 13-16, 25-31, 37-41, 44, 47, 51-53, 55, 57, 58, 61, 69, 70.

The following items were adapted from Schmidt and Wanatabe (2001): 32, 33, 34, 43, 46, 49, 60, 64-68, 71.

The following items were adapted from Worth (2006): 42, 50, 54, 56.

Appendix C

Language Comparison-Social Distance Scale

Please answer the following questions by choosing the number from 1 to 5 that best matches how you feel. Please put one (and only one) whole number in each box and don't leave any boxes empty.

5- very much 4-quite a lot 3-so-so 2-not really 1-not at all

	Arabic	French	Chinese	Spanish	Italian
1. How much do you like these languages?					
2. How much do you think knowing these languages would help you become a more knowledgeable person?					
3. How important do you think these languages are in the world these days?					
4. How much effort are you prepared to expend in learning these languages?					
5. How much do you think knowing these languages would help your future career?					
6. How much do you think you are similar to the people who speak these languages?					
7. How much prestige do you think these languages have?					
8. How much do you think knowing these languages would improve your "status" (as smart or worldly etc.)?					

	Spain	Saudi Arabia	France	China	Mexico	Italy
9. How much would you like to travel to these countries?						
10. How rich and developed do you think these countries are?						
11. How important a role do you think these countries play in the world?						
12. How much do you like the people who live in these countries?						
13. How much would you like to accept people from these countries as relatives by marriage?						
14. How much would you like to accept people from these countries as close friends?						

15. How much would you like to accept people from these countries as neighbors?						
16. How much would you like to accept people from these countries as citizens of the U.S.A.?						
17. How much would you like to accept people from these countries as visitors to the U.S.?						
18. How much would you like to exclude people from these countries from the U.S.?						

Appendix D

Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale-Short Form

True or False

1. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask for favors.
2. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.
3. I have never intensely disliked anyone.
4. I have never deliberately said something to hurt someone's feelings.
5. I am always willing to admit when I make a mistake.
6. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.
7. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.
8. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.

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Vita

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